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PUBLICATIONS

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

TRANSACTIONS

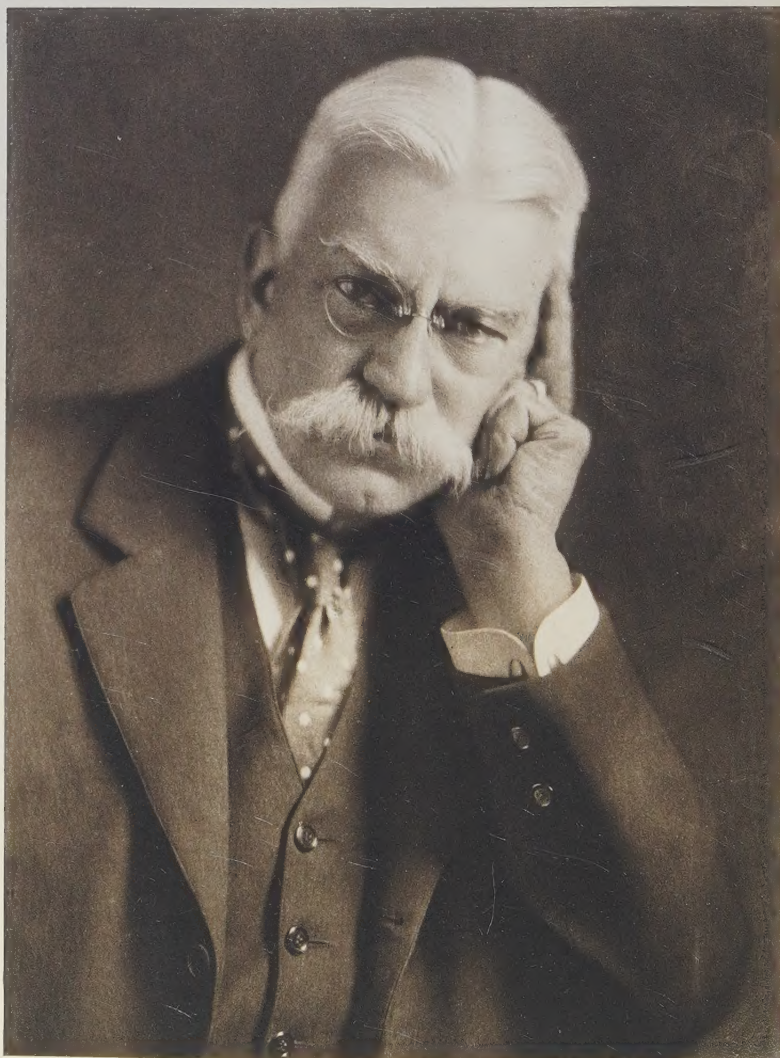
1922-1924

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A.W. Elson & Co. Belmont, Mass.

Henry St. Edes

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from a photograph from life

PUBLICATIONS

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

VOLUME XXV

TRANSACTIONS

1922-1924

Printed at the Charge of the Henry Herbert Edes Memorial Fund



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PREFACE

VOLUME XXV, now completed, contains the Transactions of the Society at thirteen meetings, from February, 1922, to February, 1924, both included, in continuation of Volume XXIV.

The Committee gratefully acknowledges the Society's indebtedness to several institutions, and to friends and members of this Society, for permission to reproduce documents in their possession, for the gift of plates, or for other courtesies, namely: to Miss Mary Lincoln Eliot, Mr. Albert Matthews, Mr. Percival Merritt, the Hon. William Phillips, the Boston Athenæum, the Boston Public Library, the Essex Institute, the Harvard College Library, the John Carter Brown Library, the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the Wardens of Christ Church, Boston.

For the Committee of Publication,

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON,

Chairman.

BOSTON, 1 May, 1924.

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*Members who have died since the publication of the preceding volume
of Transactions, with the Date of Death*

Resident

HENRY HERBERT EDES, A.M.	13 October,	1922
JOHN LOWELL, A.B.	3 December,	1922
GEORGE LINCOLN GOODALE, M.D., LL.D.	12 April,	1923
HON. JAMES MADISON MORTON, LL.D.	19 April,	1923
WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, LL.D.	7 September,	1923
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HON. CHARLES FRANCIS JENNEY, LL.B.	29 November,	1923

TRANSACTIONS

1922-1924

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1922

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 23 February, 1922, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The PRESIDENT announced the death on the nineteenth instant of EDWARD MUSSEY HARTWELL, a Resident Member.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Mr. WALTER AUSTIN and Mr. FRANCIS TIFFANY BOWLES accepting Resident Membership.

Dr. HOMER GAGE of Worcester was elected a Resident Member.

Mr. ALFRED C. POTTER read the following paper:

THE HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY, 1723-1735

Thomas Hollis, ever the good friend of Harvard College, wrote from London, February 2, 1722, to Benjamin Colman, member of the Corporation, as follows:

My Cousin Neale did hint to you and I now second it that you should doe well to send over to him and to some others a printed Catalogue of your College Library — that they may know what books you have and

it is now a likely time for you to be supplied with many, that you may want — by one hand and another — my donations to the College having made more discourse about it then formerly in London. I could have wisht to have been less knowne, only quiet my mind, in that possibly hereby some others may be moved to like good worke for your advantage.¹

A few months later, in a letter dated September 1, 1722, Hollis wrote: "The want of a Catalogue of your library — you see Sir is the occasion of sundry repetitions, in devizing away these few books — but I hope we shal be favord with it shortly for the publick service of the College." But nearly six months before this second letter could have reached Cambridge the Corporation had already taken action toward the fulfilment of the request, as appears from the following vote:

Upon the Intimation lately made by M^r Hollis, and formerly by M^r Neal, that it may be of great advantage to the College Library, that a Catalogue of the Books in the s^d Library be printed and Sent abroad, Voted, that forthwith the Library-keep^r take an Exact Catalogue of the Books in the Library, and the same be printed in Order to transmitt to friends abroad: And that this be don at the Charge of the College.²

That the Library-keeper proceeded expeditiously on this task is shown by the vote passed by the Corporation on October 3, 1722: "That M^r Gee³ Library-keeper, having prepar'd a Catalogue of the Books belonging to the Library for the press is desired to take care to get 300 Copys print^d off & stitch'd for the Use of the Corporation."⁴

The catalogue thus prepared was issued the following year under the imprint of B. Green of Boston.⁵ This small quarto volume of 106 pages is probably the first library catalogue published in

¹ This and the following letters quoted in this article are from the volume marked "Hollis Letters and Papers 1718 to 1774" in the Harvard College Library. Some of them were printed in part and inaccurately by Quincy in his *History of Harvard University* (1840).

² College Book iv. 75-76.

³ Joshua Gee, born in Boston in 1698, graduated from Harvard in 1717, and was Librarian 1721-1722. He resigned at the time the above vote was passed. In 1723, he was ordained pastor of the Old North (Second) Church as colleague of Cotton Mather. He died in 1748. He was instrumental in founding a library for the use of his church.

⁴ College Book iv. 80.

⁵ *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecæ Collegij Harvardini quod est Cantabrigiæ in Nova Angliæ. Bostoni Nov-Anglorum: Typis B. Green, academici typographi. MDCCXXIII.*

America. The Latin preface gives a brief description of the arrangement of the Library and the plan of the catalogue. The books were arranged in numbered cases of seven shelves each, and the books on each shelf were also numbered. A typical book number under this scheme might be "14-5-23." The first number represents the case, the second the shelf, and the last the book. This numbering system is not unlike that used one hundred and fifty years later in the new stack of Gore Hall. Attached to each case there was an index to the books in it, or what we should now call a shelf-list. There was a definite scheme of classification: thus, case 1 was for general works, the next ten or dozen cases were devoted to theology; then came the classics, science, history, etc. As was customary at the time — and it is a custom still followed in the catalogues of English auction sales — the catalogue was divided into three alphabetical sections, according to the size of the books, — folio, quarto, and octavo and under. In these sections, under each letter the names of the authors were not further alphabetized but followed the order of the case numbers. This makes it somewhat difficult to find readily the works of an author. This Mr. Hollis complained of, in a letter dated February 27, 1724: "looking over your Catalogue, I remark, a fault as I think) all books of One Author, of same size, should stand together, wheras Goodwin, Owen &c have divers others intervening, wch is not easy to observ in a cursory viewe, unless a man read over the whole letter."

It is worth noting that while this is the first printed catalogue of the Library there had been at least two written catalogues made some years earlier and that one of them was prepared for the purpose of sending it to England. On August 22, 1705, John Whiting¹ was reappointed Library-keeper and was also "allowed fourty shillings more for his paines in transcribing the Lists sent to England of the books in the Library."² A few years later Nathaniel Gookin,³ on September 5, 1709, just at the end of his librarianship, was paid by the treasurer fifty shillings "for his pains in taking a

¹ John Whiting, born in Lynn January 20, 1681, graduated from Harvard in 1700 and was Librarian from 1703 to 1706. He was ordained minister in Concord in 1712 and remained there until his death in 1752.

² College Book iv. 25.

³ Nathaniel Gookin, born in Cambridge April 15, 1687, graduated from Har-

Catalogue of y^e Books in y^e Library."¹ These are the only catalogues of which there seems to be any record, but undoubtedly others were made from time to time, for as early as 1667 when the first rules for carrying on the Library were adopted, one of them was as follows: "The Library keep^r shall write or cause to be fairly written in a book (to be payd for by the Treasurer) the names of all the Books belonging to the Library. ffirst in the order as they are placed & disposed according to the affixed catalogue. Secondly, In one continued Alphabet setting down the Authors name & what of his works are in the Library & where. Thirdly. The names of the severall Dono^rs of y^e Books with the Books given by them."²

Turning for a moment to the character of the Library as indicated by this Catalogue, it may be noted that of its three thousand volumes by far the greater part was theological and most of it in Latin. Except for a set of Shakespeare³ and of Milton,⁴ English literature is almost unrepresented. From the desert of dead and forgotten theological works there stand out the titles of three or four books that still live: Walton's *Lives*, Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, the *Works of Sir William Temple*, and Chapman's *Homer*. The Greek and Latin classical writers are fairly well represented. In French literature there were only the works of Clement Marot. It is small wonder that Thomas Hollis felt the need of increasing and broadening this Library in which he took so keen an interest.

Copies of the Catalogue were forwarded to Hollis, who acknowledged them in the following letter, dated London, February 24, 1724:

I have newly receivd 8. doz books, catalogues of your College Library wch I shall distribute with all Convenient expedition, as you direct me. . . .

I have one instance of the usefulness of your Catalogue alredy by giving one to my Nephew Tho Hollis who had . 3. valluable books

ward in 1703, Librarian 1707-1709. In 1710 he became the minister at Hampton, N. H., where he died in 1734.

¹ College Book iv. 36.

² College Book iii. 26.

³ London: 1709. 6 vols. 8vo.

⁴ London: 1720. 2 vols. 4to.

designed now to send unto you, he finds you have them, and so forbears, but as he designd a present, he must waite an opportunity for some others you have not. . . .

My love to you and yours and all freinds

Your Loving Freind

THOMAS HOLLIS

On a separate sheet enclosed in this letter, he states in detail how he had disposed of his copies of the Catalogue, giving the names of some two dozen people to whom he had given from one to a dozen or more copies.¹ He was not, however, content with a mere distribution of the Catalogue, for his letters show that he wrote to many men and talked with many others, importuning them for gifts of books for the New England college. For example, he wrote to Mr. Gunston, Treasurer of the Society for Propagating the Gospel: "Upon perusal of the Catalogue of the library in the College at Cambridg N E — it is found, numbers of useful books fitting for such a library are wanting, whereupon I am moved by some Ministers in London, to see if £100. star. might not be spared for so valluable a purpose out of the cash of our Society to buy such

¹ London Feb. 21. 1723/4

Reed by Capt Barlow

96. Catalogues of the College library to be distributed

6. to Governour Shute

12. to Mr Henry Newman

12. to Mr Ieremy Dummer } all Deliverd.

30. to Mr Daniel Neale

30. to Mr Tho. Hollis

6. to Iohn Chamberlaine Esq^e I sent my man with them but he brought them back with Answer, he was dead about 4 Months.

Thomas Hollis hath distributed alreddy 18. viz

Mr Harris

Mr Iohn Hollis

Mr Evans

Mr Thomas Hollis Iun^r

Mr Standen of Neuberry

Mr Richard Solly

Mr Samuel Holden Marchant

Mr Ellis

Mr Stork

Mr Ioseph Burrows

Mr Colman

Dr Meade

Dr Callamy

Mr Isaac Watts

Dr Avery

Mr Edward Wallin

Dr Hinch

18. deliverd

Mr Hunt

8. Remains in hand of Tho Hollis —

I hope in the sequell you will reape the fruite

London Feb. 24. 1723/4

necessary books and send them over to Boston for that purpose.”¹ This particular appeal brought no immediate result, although some twenty years later the Society sent to the College many books. His other efforts were more successful, and in the next few years many boxes of books found their way across the Atlantic. Members of his own family were the most frequent givers, and the names of his two brothers, John and Nathaniel, and his nephew, Thomas, appear on the list of donors. Others were Isaac Watts, Dean Berkeley, John Lloyd, Rev. Thomas Cotton, and John Guyse. But the largest gifts came from Thomas Hollis himself. Quincy summarizes these gifts briefly, stating that he gave “in 1724, two large packets of valuable books; in 1725, many other valuable books; and, in 1726, he sent another box of books.”² Even a cursory examination of Hollis’s letters and of the Corporation Records shows that his gifts were much more extensive than this memorandum would indicate. While we have no way of determining the exact number of volumes that he gave, — and there must have been between four and five hundred of them, — we now are able to judge accurately of their general character, if not to quote specific titles. But before proceeding to an analysis of these gifts, which show the nature of the growth of the Library for the dozen years subsequent to the publication of the Catalogue of 1723, some of his still unpublished letters, showing as they do his sincere interest in the College, are worth quoting. They are all addressed to the Reverend Benjamin Colman, the first pastor of the Brattle Street Church, and a member of the Corporation from 1717 to 1728.

March 28, 1724. Mr. Dummer³ was to see me some days since, I suppose he writes his Brother⁴ by this Ship what both sides say. He tells me your College Catalogue of your library comes very oportunely, there is one gives £60. star — wch he will lay out in valluable books, he had begun to draw out the books by his head, but not examind the Catalogue because he had noted down some, wch I told him you had

¹ May 16, 1724.

² History of Harvard University, i. 526.

³ Jeremiah Dummer, a graduate of Harvard in 1699, had been sent to London as colonial agent in 1710. Several years before the date of this letter, he had, apparently under the influence of Cotton Mather, endeavored to divert Hollis’s bounty from Harvard to the newly established college at New Haven.

⁴ William Dummer, then Lieutenant-Governor.

alreddy, and it is to prevent duplicates, I prayed him to consult Mr I Hunt¹ who has read it, and vallues a good publick Library. He said he would do so, I wish he dont forget it — I am told he has lately forwarded some valluable books &c to Yale College, and seems to boast, that in a little time that nursery will exceed Cambridg — he has such a vollen tongue, wch takes with some People, it is not fitt to disgust him, but rather to treat him civilly, because he may be of some use to you.

Aug. 1, 1724. I forward to you about £500—Star in books for your library at College — there is roome to lay out £500.Star more for to furnish it well for a publick library — now if you have moneys to spare, why should not yee see to lay it out in such books as you are sensible are wanting.

In a long letter, begun on January 6, 1725, but not finished till February 15, Hollis had much to say of the Library and his gifts to it:

. . . I have not yet heard from any of the College of the receipt of my large chest of Books to your publick library, I hope they came safe to hand, and well Conditioned — I am now preparing two Smaller chests of Books given to your College library — with this. Rule.

whatever books I forward, of my own, or for others, if you have Duplicates already, then take or keep the best, for Edition or binding in the publick Library — and with the consent of those who intrust me I order the duplicate be given to my Professor, for his own closet, or if he needs it not, then that the Professor with the advice of the President give them to such of my students as shall be going out into the Ministry for their own use. I suppose folios best esteemed in your College library, if so you will have a number of Baxters &c smaller works, thus to give away.

Mr Loyd has bought Gravius & Grenovius works, and I am promised they shall be sent you in Lethered.²

I intreat you Sir speake to your proper officer to prepare and send me by the first ship possible after the receipt of the books forwarded unto you this Spring a supplement or Appendix — of all the Books sent unto you or that you have receivd since the printed Catalogue wch you have sent me, for my ease to know what you most want, and avoid duplicates, if some of your NE Marchants had the good of your

¹ Rev. Jeremiah Hunt, of London, friend and adviser of Hollis.

² Lethered was captain of a ship by which Hollis frequently sent letters and packages to New England.

College at heart you might have a great number of books sent unto you in a little time, but one in my Neiborhood has discouraged one I expected a present from, telling him how Rich and able & flourishing you are to Buy Books your selves if you want them and some think that M^r Sam Mathers book of his fathers life has some passages in it, tending to discourage others, wch I am sorry for.

I have been discoursing the great Bookseller M^r Guy¹ and a gentleman undertook to second me — for some valluable Books; and to settle a Professor of Mathematicks among you wch I discourst him upon, with some expectation, but He died 27 xber, after a Short indisposition, and that motion is sunk, but has left me one of his Executors, a great Trust, and like to be attended with much labour & paine and care — relating to his Hospital for 400. Incurables, we are now Indevoring to obtain an Act of Parlament so soon as may be for settling of it. . . .

as to your motion about Exchanging Bales french dictionary, for an English one, I a little admire at, we have few, ne[xt] to none of our valluable Students at London, who sincerely indeavour after knowlege, but they easily attaine to read French as well as Latin — and that because so many very valluable books in History & Philosophy are written in French, it is very easy for one verst in Lattin to read French — and that sett of books — are esteemd very valluable. However upon your notice, I may discorage any more French books, by my hand; thô I should think such ought to be estemed in a publick Library.²

Mr. Hunt tells me Bayles Dictionary³ in french is worth two of them in English — and yet they are in such demand now, that they ask 11. or 12. ginees for them — he has been much displeased with me or the Bookseller, several times for sending Montfaucons Antiquities in English, he would have had the french been sent you — but according to your remark upon Baile — I perceive you like what you have best, as it is in English.

April 28, 1725. The occasion of my writing this letter is — I have an acquaintance who has a mind to make a present to your College library — who had seen or heard of some performces of the Royal Academy in Paris wch he liked — he sent last yeare to Paris to buy them — they are come over in sheets and now are binding up, being about 25. volumes in quarto, and will cost neare £25. Star. — they are all in French.

¹ Thomas Guy (1645?–1724).

² For the teaching of French at Harvard College before 1750, see our Publications, xvii. 119–120, 216–230.

³ P. Bayle. Dictionnaire Historique et Critique. Rotterdam: 1720. 4 vols. folio, was among Hollis's earlier gifts.

Histoire de l' academie Royale des Sciences. avec les Memoires de Mathematique et de Physique &c a Paris. I told my freind how little you esteemd Bayles Dictionary because in French — he replied — he would waite — and not send them till he heard from you, that you esteemed such performances & desired them. pray Sir consult my Professor and send me both your opinions, so soon as you can because if you dont like these, he will send some other books, but not so costly.

Evidently either Mr. Colman or the Hollis Professor did “like them,” for the set is entered in the second Supplement to the Catalogue.

June 21, 1725. When your library keeper shall send me a printed Supplement to your first Catalogue of your library, perhaps it might be of use if you drew out a Catalogue of what books, you yet want, and would be most acceptable unto you — if any new benefactors should offer to my cognisance.

The following paragraph from a letter of June 7, 1725, has been printed before, by Quincy and others, but it is worth quoting again as a picture of the Library at this time:

Your library is reckond here to be ill managed, by the account I have of some that know it, you want seats to sett and read, and chains to your valluable books like our Bodleian library, or Sion College in London, you know their methods, wch are approved, but you do not imitate them, you let your books be taken at pleasure home to Mens houses, and many are lost, your (boyish) Students, take them to their chambers, and teare out pictures & Maps to adorne the Walls. such things are not good; if you want roome for modern books, it is easy to remove the less usefull into a more remote place, but not to sell any, they are devoted. your goodness will excuse me, if I hint to you what I think is faulty, if you are convinced my hints are just, your own prudence wil rectify what is amiss as far as you can.

In another letter, dated February 10, 1726, Hollis intimates that the Colony does not do enough toward the support of its own College. He is sending fonts of Greek and Hebrew type, and says: “but we much wonder considering the number of very rich Gentlemen and Marchants in or about Boston your College should not be supplied liberally by them with all such things as are for publick use to their children and posterity, but put them upon writing to London for them; if it were in Pensilvania I should not wonder.”

In one of the above letters, Hollis had asked that a supplement to the Catalogue be made and sent him. The Corporation acted promptly, for on June 2, 1725, it passed the following vote:

Voted That the Treasurer defray the Charge of printing & stitching three Hundred Supplements to the Catalogue of the Library Voted That M^r Hancock¹ the Library keeper be paid 40^{sh} by the Treasurer for his Lab^r in writing the said Supplemt getting it printed & correcting the press Voted that one hundred of s^d Supplemts be sent by the Treasurer to o^r worthy Benefact^r M^r Thomas Hollis Merch^t in London and a Copy be given to Each of the Overseers Corporation & Tut^rs and that the rest be brought to the Library.²

This Supplement is a pamphlet of only five leaves, without a title-page and paged continuously from the Catalogue of 1723, i. e. pages 103-112. The heading of the first page reads: "*Continuatio Supplementi CATALOGI LIBRORUM BIBLIOTHECÆ Collegij Harvardini. Quod est CANTABRIGIÆ in NOVA ANGLIA.*" On the last page is the imprint of B. Green, MDCCXXV. There is no copy of this in the Harvard Library. Twenty-five years ago, when preparing an account of the librarians of Harvard,³ I heard that the Massachusetts Historical Society had a copy, and Dr. Green furnished me with a description of it. I did not at the time inspect the volume and supposed the information was complete. A few weeks ago I asked Mr. Ford if he would let us have a photostat of these ten pages; in reply he asked if we did not want the other dozen pages also. From the photostat that the Society kindly sent us, we learned for the first time that another Supplement was printed ten years later. This was a pamphlet of twelve pages, numbered 113 to 124, and also without a title-page. The first page bears the heading: "*Continuatio CATALOGI LIBRORUM BIBLIOTHECÆ Collegij Harvardini. Ab Anno 1725, Ad Annum 1735.*" There is no imprint. A pencilled note at the

¹ John Hancock, Librarian 1723-1726, was born in 1702, and graduated in 1719. He was minister at Braintree from 1726 until his death in 1744. He was the father of Governor John Hancock.

² College Book iv. 102.

³ The Librarians of Harvard College 1667-1877 by Alfred Claghorn Potter and Charles Knowles Bolton. (Bibliographical Contributions, no. 52.) Cambridge: 1897.

end shows that this copy was given the Historical Society by Oliver Wendell Holmes in 1871. An examination of the College Records would have shown that such a Supplement was made, for on April 14, 1735, the Corporation voted "That Mr Diman¹ prepare for y^e Press, and get printed, a Continuation of y^e Catalogue of y^e College Library to this day; and y^t Dr Wigglesworth² be desired to direct & assist him therein."³ A year later, on April 27, 1736, this further vote was passed: "That Mr Diman be allowed three pounds out of y^e College Treasury, for his care & trouble in preparing a Continuation of y^e Catalogue of y^e Books of y^e College Library for Impression, & for correcting the Press."⁴ One further vote in relation to the catalogue was passed by the Corporation on September 11, 1740. It reads "That any of the senior sophisters, may have the Liberty to purchase a Library Catalogue, to be charg'd to them in the Qu^rr Bill at five Shillings."⁵

Having thus traced the history of these two little pamphlets that form a supplement to the first Catalogue of the Harvard Library, a few words may be given to a study of their contents and to a consideration of the books that made up the accessions of the Library for this period of twelve years. Hollis and his friends in London were not giving books at random, or clearing out their attics as for a rummage sale. The books they sent were carefully selected as the most necessary for this distant nursery of learning. Since a college was still looked upon largely as a training school for the ministry, it is natural that a majority of the books should be theological. Hollis was a good Baptist, but his views were liberal for the times, in that he was anxious to have both sides of a question represented. In a letter dated February 15, 1725, he wrote: "if there happen to be some books not quite Orthodox, in search after truth with an honest design dont be afraid of them, a publick library ought to be furnished if they can, with Con as well as Pro — that students may read, try, Judg — see for themselv and beleive upon argument and just reasonings of the Scriptures — thus

¹ James Diman, a graduate of 1730, was Librarian from 1735 to 1737. From this year until his death in 1788, he was pastor of the Second, or East, Church in Salem.

² Edward Wigglesworth, first Hollis Professor of Divinity.

³ College Book iv. 180-181.

⁴ Id. iv. 188.

⁵ Id. iv. 225.

saith Aristotle, thus saith Calvin — will not now pass for proof in our London disputations.”

In the first of these Supplements (1725) there are catalogued about 250 volumes, and in the second Supplement (1735) 350 volumes. In the light of Hollis's remark about folios quoted above, it is worth noting that over half (132) of the volumes in the first Supplement are folios and that in the second the number had fallen to less than a quarter. A large proportion of the books were theological, — biblical commentary, controversial works, church history, and sermons. Much of this was in Latin and few of the writers would be known to-day by any but the special student of theological lore. There is a fair sprinkling of the Greek and Latin classics, especially in the Delphine edition, a set of which seems to have been given. History appears somewhat sparsely, but one may note such titles Burnet's History of my own Times, De Rapin's and Tyrrell's histories of England, Busbeck on the Manners of the Turks, a history of Virginia, and a life of Cromwell (authors not given). Except for the set of the French Academy, referred to in one of Hollis's letters already quoted, science is hardly recognized. There is An Exact Survey of the Tide (London, 1717) by E. Barlow, and several medical works, among them an Essay on the Gout by George Cheyne (London, 1723).

American books were strangely neglected. In all there are only fifteen American imprints listed. Nine of these are by Cotton Mather; there are two copies of Willard's Complete Body of Divinity (Boston, 1726); sermons or tracts by Nathaniel Appleton, Samuel Sewall, and Ebenezer Thayer; and a copy of the Massachusetts Laws of 1726 completes the brief list. When we consider that there was at this time a good deal of printing being done in the colonies — Evans lists 1359 titles for the twelve years from 1724 to 1735 — this meagre showing is the more surprising and justifies the complaint of Hollis that the people of Boston and New England were not doing enough for their own library.

One other comparison may be made between the two Supplements. In the first, there were of recent, or current books, i. e. works printed since 1720, only fifty titles, or twenty per cent. In the second Supplement, there were 213 such titles, or sixty per cent. This would indicate a growing interest in the thought of the day, a healthy

desire to keep up with current intellectual development. But religious writings still predominate, perhaps ten to one, and most of these are by authors almost unknown to-day.

Indeed, among the six hundred volumes recorded in these two Supplements, there are hardly more than a score whose authors are familiar to many of us now. Milton's Works (Amsterdam, 1698, 3 volumes, folio) stand out conspicuously, and so does Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress (London, 1728). Other names everybody would recognize are John Locke, Sir Isaac Newton, Jeremy Taylor, Isaac Watts, Richard Hooker, and (perhaps) Sir Richard Blackmore. There is also one volume by Defoe, but his name is not attached to it in the Catalogue; it is tract entitled "Conjugal Lewdness, or Matrimonial Whoredom." But there are none of the writers that to us are famous in English literature the first third of the eighteenth century. The Harvard student of that day could not take from the College Library and read the works of Swift, Steele, Addison, Pope, Gay, or Thomson. Instead he might read Bishop Bull On the Trinity, Burrow's Essay on Providence, or the two folio volumes by Bishop Patrick: Commentaries on the Old Testament to the Book of Job. It is no wonder that Harvard produced no poets or novelists in the eighteenth century.

President ROBINSON read a translation by Professor George A. Reisner of a tale from an Arabic book entitled Stories (p. 21), by Ibrahim Zeki, a well-known modern author in Cairo:

TELL THE TRUTH AND FEAR NOT.

Once upon a time, there was a small boy named ALI SAMY. Now his father had given him a small hatchet with which to play. Then he rejoiced in it and took it with him to the garden and roamed in every direction and he was trying it upon everything he saw, until at last he came to a cherry tree. And he began trying his hatchet on it and opened in it a deep cut. Then he removed himself to another part of the garden. Now he had forgotten that this cherry-tree was a beloved one of his father. Then when his father entered and found the tree in this state, he was greatly disturbed and asked him affectionately: "Who has done this, O Aly?" And the boy answered: "I do not know, O my father." Then the parent said; "And has anyone been here except yourself?"

And the boy answered weeping: "O my father, I am not able to tell a lie. For I am he who has done this thing." And thereupon the father forgave his dear son.

MORAL: Often the temptation comes to children to speak other than the truth, and then they should remember this child and testify like him: "I am not able to tell a lie."¹

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS read extracts from an advertisement announcing the publication of the first volume of *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, edited by Dr. John Venn and Mr. J. A. Venn of Cambridge University, England; and made the following communication, compiled by Mr. J. Gardner Bartlett of Cambridge, Massachusetts:

UNIVERSITY ALUMNI FOUNDERS OF NEW ENGLAND

As a contribution towards the approaching tercentenary celebration of the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1630, the writer has been collecting, during the past three years, materials for a volume to be entitled *The University Alumni Founders of New England*, which will endeavor to present biographies (and genealogical records of the families) of all emigrants to New England before 1650 who had attended as students any European university, before coming to New England. Research has been made among printed and original sources, not only in New England but also in England during 1920 and 1921. The writer has also conferred personally with Dr. John Venn, President of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, England, who is now publishing a monumental *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, and has given to Dr. Venn abstracts of biographies of over a hundred Cambridge alumni who emigrated to New England before 1650, for use in Dr. Venn's work.

In 1880 the late Professor Franklin B. Dexter of Yale University prepared a list giving the names of all Cambridge and Oxford alumni then known to him who emigrated to New England before 1650, comprising 72 Cambridge matriculates and 22 Oxford matriculates.²

¹ Logically the moral should read: ". . . and when they perceive that the falsehood will be discovered, then they should remember this child and . . ." — Note by the translator.

² ¹ *Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society*, xvii. 340-352; F. B. Dexter, *Historical Papers* (1918), pp. 102-115.

This is the latest list of such a kind that has been printed to the knowledge of the writer, who believes that the numbers may be much extended, for Cambridge to at least 104, and for Oxford to at least 29.

Appended are tentative lists of matriculates compiled from data so far secured by the writer, who would welcome corrections or additions from anyone interested in this subject. Places are in Massachusetts unless otherwise stated.

MATRICULATES OF CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY WHO EMIGRATED TO
NEW ENGLAND BEFORE 1650

Alcock, George, Roxbury	St. John's 1622
Allen, Rev. Thomas, Charlestown	Caius 1624
Allin, Rev. John, Dedham	Caius 1612
Baker, Rev. Nicholas, Scituate	St. John's 1628
Bellingham, William, Rowley	Christ's 1618
Blackwood, Rev. Christopher, Scituate	Pembroke 1621
Blaxton, William, Boston	Emmanuel 1614
Bradstreet, Gov. Simon, Boston	Emmanuel 1618
Brewster, William, Plymouth	Peterhouse 1580
Browne, Rev. Edmund, Sudbury	Emmanuel 1624
Bulkeley, Rev. Edward, Concord	St. Catharine's 1629
Bulkeley, Rev. Peter, Concord	St. John's [A.B. ¹ 1604-5]
Burdett, Rev. George, Dover, N.H.	Sidney [A.B. 1623-4]
Burr, Rev. Jonathan, Dorchester	Corpus Christi 1620
Carter, Rev. Thomas, Woburn	St. John's 1626
Chauncy, Rev. Charles, President of Harvard College	Trinity 1610
Cheever, Ezekiel, Boston	Emmanuel 1633
Child, Dr. Robert, Boston	Corpus Christi 1628
Cooke, George, Cambridge	St. John's 1626
Corlett, Elijah, Cambridge	Pembroke [A.B. 1634]
Cotton, Rev. John, Boston	Trinity 1598
Dalton, Rev. Timothy, Hampton, N.H.	St. John's 1610
Dane, Rev. Francis, Andover	King's 1633
Denison, Daniel, Ipswich	Emmanuel 1626
Denton, Rev. Richard, Hempstead, Long Island	St. Catharine's 1621
Downing, Emmanuel, Salem	Trinity 1602
Dudley, Rev. Samuel, Exeter, N.H.	Emmanuel 1626
Dunster, Henry, President of Harvard College	Magdalene 1627
Eaton, Rev. Nathaniel, Cambridge	Trinity 1629-30
Eaton, Rev. Samuel, New Haven, Ct.	Magdalene 1620-1
Eliot, Rev. John, Roxbury	Jesus 1621

¹ In the form of Cambridge degrees ("A.B." rather than "B.A.", etc.), the compiler has followed the Book of Matriculations and Degrees, 1544-1659 (1913); Cantabrigienses Graduati, 1659-1800 (1800); and Graduati Cantabrigienses, 1800-1864 (1864).

Fenwick, George, Saybrook, Ct.	Queens' 1619
Firmin, Rev. Giles, Ipswich	Emmanuel 1629
Fiske, Rev. John, Wenham and Chelmsford	Peterhouse 1625
Fordham, Rev. Robert, Southampton, Long Island	Caius 1623
Gibson, Rev. Richard, Saco, Me.	Emmanuel 1627
Greene, Rev. Henry, Reading	Emmanuel 1635
Harrison, Rev. Thomas, Boston	Sidney 1634
Harvard, Rev. John, Charlestown	Emmanuel 1631
Higginson, Rev. Francis, Salem	Jesus [A.B. 1609-10]
Hinckley, Gov. Thomas, Barnstable	Trinity 1633
Hobart, Rev. Peter, Hingham	Magdalene 1623
Hooker, Rev. Thomas, Hartford, Ct.	Emmanuel [A.B. 1607-8]
Huit, Rev. Ephraim, Windsor, Ct.	St. John's 1611
Humfrey, John, Lynn	Trinity 1613
James, Rev. Thomas, Charlestown	Emmanuel 1611
Jenner, Rev. Thomas, Saco, Me.	Christ's 1623-4
Johnson, Isaac, Salem	Emmanuel 1614
Jones, Rev. John, Fairfield, Ct.	Queens' 1608
Josselyn, Henry, Scarborough, Me.	Corpus Christi 1623
Knight, Rev. William, Ipswich	Emmanuel 1626-7
Knollys, Rev. Hanserd, Dover, N.H.	St. Catharine's 1629
Knowles, Rev. John, Watertown	Magdalene 1620
Larkham, Rev. Thomas, Dover, N.H.	Trinity 1619
Leverich, Rev. William, Huntington and Newtown, Long Island	Emmanuel 1622
Lothrop, Rev. John, Barnstable	Queens' [A.B. 1606]
Maude, Rev. Daniel, Dover, N.H.	Emmanuel 1603
Mellowes, Edward, Charlestown	Emmanuel 1627
Mildmay, William, Cambridge	Emmanuel 1641
Miller, Rev. John, Rowley and Yarmouth	Caius 1624
Morrell, Rev. William, Weymouth	Magdalene 1611
Moxon, Rev. George, Springfield	Sidney 1620
Newton, Rev. Roger, Farmington and Milford, Ct.	King's 1636
Norcross, Rev. Nathaniel, Watertown	St. Catharine's 1632
Norton, Rev. John, Ipswich and Boston	Peterhouse 1621
Partridge, Rev. Ralph, Duxbury	Trinity 1595
Pecke, Rev. Robert, Hingham	St. Catharine's [A.B. 1598-9]
Peirson, Rev. Abraham, Branford, Ct.	Trinity 1629
Pelham, William, Sudbury	Emmanuel 1615
Perkins, Rev. William, Roxbury and Topsfield	Emmanuel 1624
Peter, Rev. Hugh, Salem	Trinity 1613
Phillip, Rev. John, Dedham	Emmanuel 1600
Phillips, Rev. George, Watertown	Caius 1610
Prudden, Rev. Peter, Milford, Ct.	Emmanuel 1620
Rashley, Rev. Thomas, Gloucester	Trinity 1629
Reyner, Rev. John, Plymouth, and Dover, N.H.	Magdalene 1622
Rogers, Rev. Ezekiel, Rowley	Christ's [A.B. 1604-5]
Rogers, Rev. Nathaniel, Ipswich	Emmanuel 1614
Sadler, Rev. Richard, Lynn	Emmanuel 1637
Saltonstall, Sir Richard, Kt., Watertown	Clare 1603

Saltonstall, Richard, Ipswich	Emmanuel 1627
Saxton, Rev. Peter, Scituate	Trinity 1594
Shepard, Rev. Thomas, Cambridge	Emmanuel 1620
Sherman, Rev. John, Watertown	St. Catharine's 1631
Skelton, Rev. Samuel, Salem	Clare 1608
Smith, Rev. Henry, Wethersfield, Ct.	Sidney 1617
Smith, Rev. Ralph, Plymouth	Christ's 1610
Stone, Rev. Samuel, Hartford, Ct.	Emmanuel 1620
Symmes, Rev. Zechariah, Charlestown	Emmanuel 1617
Walton, Rev. William, Marblehead	Emmanuel 1618
Ward, Rev. John, Haverhill	Emmanuel 1622
Ward, Rev. Nathaniel, Ipswich	Emmanuel 1596
Waterhouse, Rev. Thomas, Dorchester	Emmanuel 1631
Weld, Rev. Thomas, Roxbury	Trinity 1611
Wetherell, Rev. William, Scituate	Corpus Christi 1619
Wheelock, Ralph, Medfield	Clare 1623
Wheelwright, Rev. John, Salisbury	Sidney 1611
Whiting, Rev. Samuel, Lynn	Emmanuel 1613
Williams, Rev. Roger, Providence, R.I.	Pembroke 1625
Wilson, Rev. John, Boston	King's 1606
Winthrop, Gov. John, Boston	Trinity 1603
Woodmansey, Robert, Boston	St. John's 1609
Worcester, Rev. William, Salisbury	St. John's 1620
Yonges, Rev. John, Southold, Long Island	Emmanuel 1620

MATRICULATES OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY WHO EMIGRATED TO NEW ENGLAND BEFORE 1650

Avery, Rev. Joseph, Cape Ann	Queen's 1615
Bachelor, Rev. Stephen, Hampton, N.H.	St. John's 1581
Blakeman, Rev. Adam, Stratford, Ct.	Christ Church 1617
Blinman, Rev. Richard, Gloucester	New Inn Hall 1635
Bright, Rev. Francis, Salem	New Inn Hall 1624-5
Cobbett, Rev. Thomas, Lynn	Trinity 1627
Davenport, Rev. John, New Haven, Ct.	Merton 1613
Hooke, Rev. William, New Haven, Ct.	Trinity 1620
Hull, Rev. Joseph, Yarmouth	St. Mary's Hall 1612
Jordan, Rev. Robert, Richmond Island, Me.	Balliol 1632
Lenthall, Rev. Robert, Weymouth	Oriel 1611
Lyford, Rev. John, Plymouth	Magdalen [B.A. 1597]
Mather, Rev. Richard, Dorchester	Brasenose 1618
Matthews, Rev. Marmaduke, Rehoboth	All Souls 1623-4
Maverick, Rev. John, Dorchester	Exeter 1595
Mayo, Rev. John, Yarmouth	Magdalen 1615
Newman, Rev. Samuel, Rehoboth	Magdalen 1619-20
Norris, Rev. Edward, Salem	Balliol 1599
Noyes, Rev. James, Newbury	Brasenose 1627
Parker, Rev. Thomas, Newbury	Magdalen 1613
Peter, Rev. Thomas, New London, Ct.	Brasenose 1610
Pole, William, Taunton and Dorchester	Oriel 1609-10

Pynchon, William, Springfield	Hart Hall 1596
Street, Rev. Nicholas, Taunton	Pembroke [B.A. 1624-5]
Tompson, Rev. William, Braintree	Brasenose 1618-9
Warham, Rev. John, Windsor, Ct.	St. Mary's Hall [B.A. 1614]
Whitfield, Rev. Henry, Guilford, Ct.	New College 1610
Willis, Thomas, Lynn	St. John's 1602
Woodbridge, Rev. Benjamin, Cambridge	Magdalen 1638 ¹

MATRICULATE OF DUBLIN UNIVERSITY WHO EMIGRATED TO
NEW ENGLAND BEFORE 1650

Winthrop, Gov. John, Jr., New London, Ct.	1622
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QUERIES

Rev. Jose Glover was born about 1595, eldest son of Roger Glover, merchant of London; rector of Sutton, co. Surrey, 1624-1634; suspended for nonconformity and in 1635 went to New England; the next year returned to England and resigned his living, but in the summer of 1638 again sailed for New England with his family and died during the voyage. *Where was he educated?* In Foster's Alumni Oxonienses appears a "Joseph Glover of London, pleb., matriculated at St. John's College July 4, 1609, aged 14; B.A. October 22, 1612; M.A. June 13, 1615." This record fits well to apply to Jose Glover, and enquiries at Oxford fail to show any further information of Joseph Glover. A student named Glover, first name unknown, matriculated at Clare College, Cambridge, as a pensioner, at Easter, 1613. The college records show no more about this matriculate.

Thomas Dudley, born about 1606, matriculated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, as a pensioner, at Easter, 1624; A.B. 1626-7; A.M. 1630. *Was he the eldest son of Governor Thomas Dudley of Massachusetts?* The latter when elected deputy-governor May 17, 1637, is termed "Senior" on the records, which implies a son Thomas then in New England. Governor Dudley was married to Dorothy Yorke on April 25, 1603, and his eldest *known* child, Samuel, was not baptized until November 30, 1608, so there is a chance that he may have had an older son Thomas born about 1606. Among the papers in the Public Record Office, London, is a list, evidently made

¹ It has been stated that the Rev. John Woodbridge of Andover and Newbury studied at Oxford, and that Sir Henry Vane the younger of Boston attended Magdalen College, but their matriculations are not of record. John Prince of Hull, though his matriculation is not recorded, doubtless was a student at Oxford about 1626-1628.

in the summer of 1630, of "the principall undertakers for the plantation of the Massachusetts bay in Newe England that are themselves gonne over with theire wives and children," and in this list appears "Mr. Dudley, his wife, 2 sonnes and 4 daughters."¹ His only known son was Samuel Dudley, but perhaps the other was the Thomas Dudley just out of Emmanuel College. Some of the vessels of the Winthrop fleet did not finally leave England until May, 1630; so Thomas Dudley might have received his master's degree just before sailing. If Governor Dudley had any child named Thomas, such a son must have died comparatively young. It is possible that the other "sonne" of Governor Dudley referred to on the list may have been his son-in-law, Simon Bradstreet.

Rev. Henry Flynt was born about 1613, son of Henry Flynt of Matlock, co. Derby. He first appears in New England late in 1635, being admitted to the Boston Church November 15, 1635, and freeman May 25, 1636. In March, 1636-7, he signed the petition in favor of Wheelwright. The next *record* I find of him in New England is on August 11, 1639, when he was dismissed from the Boston Church to the Church at Braintree of which he was soon ordained teacher, in which office he continued until his death April 27, 1668. *Where was he educated?* The records of Jesus College, Cambridge, give a Henry Flint of Yorkshire, matriculated as a sizar at Easter, 1631; A.B. 1634-5; A.M. 1638; his further history is unknown. According to Dr. Venn, a graduate had to receive his degrees *in person*; so if this Jesus College man be our emigrant, he must have returned to England after March, 1636-7, and then come back again to Boston before August, 1639, all of which seems possible. Against the identity is the statement that the matriculate was of Yorkshire, not Derbyshire; but the emigrant's father had property in Nottinghamshire, so perhaps also in Yorkshire. Also the name of the matriculate was spelled *Flint*; but the emigrant in New England seems always to have spelled his name *Flynt*. Besides the Jesus College matriculate, there was a — Flint who matriculated at St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, in 1629, of whom nothing more is known.

David Offley of Surrey, born about 1616, matriculated as a pensioner at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, at Easter, 1632-3;

¹ Cf. Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1660, p. 112.

later history unknown. *Was he identical with the following?* "Mr." David Offley appears in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1638. Various records show he was a young man, of gentleman's rank, and had relatives in London. He married in Boston in 1639 Elizabeth Wolcott (then a minor) and about 1645 disappears from New England.

Dr. John Clarke of Newport, Rhode Island, baptized at Westhorpe, co. Suffolk, October 8, 1609; emigrated to New England in November, 1637, and died April 20, 1676. *Where was he educated?* He doubtless had a college education. According to tradition he studied at Leyden University, but this has not been verified. There seems no matriculate at Oxford to fit with him. At Cambridge appear John Clarke, matriculated at Corpus Christi, pensioner, 1624; A.B. 1626-7; A.M. 1630; another John Clark matriculated at Trinity, sizar, 1626; A.B. 1629-30; A.M. 1633; also a John Clark entered Peterhouse, pensioner, in 1626; another John Clark entered Queens', pensioner, in 1627; and still another matriculated sizar at St. Catharine's in 1627, A.B. 1630-1.

Dr. John Clarke of Newbury and Boston, Massachusetts, born about 1599, emigrated to New England about 1638, having previously been of Colchester, co. Essex, and London. He deposed in 1662, aged 63, and died in 1664. It has been generally claimed that his widow Martha (who died September 19, 1680, aged 85) was a sister of Sir Richard Saltonstall; but the latter had no sister named Martha. It is very likely, however, that Dr. Clarke had an earlier wife who was one of the sisters of Saltonstall. *Did Dr. Clarke have a college education?* A John Clarke, son of John Clarke, gentleman, of Wrestlingworth, co. Bedford, prepared at Sutton School, matriculated as pensioner at Caius College, Cambridge, at Easter, 1616, aged 17; A.B. 1619-20; A.M. 1623.

William Wood was the author of *New England's Prospect*, published in London in 1634. *Where was he educated?* He came to New England, probably with the Rev. Francis Higginson in 1629, and apparently lived in Saugus (now Lynn) until he returned to England in August, 1633. His book has passages indicating a liberal education, and was dedicated to his "much honored friend, Sir William Armyne, Bart." The latter was of Osgodby in Lavington, co. Lincoln, and entered Sidney College, Cambridge, in 1610.

After the dedication, there is a twelve-line appreciation in verse addressed "To the Author, his singular good Friend, Mr. William Wood," and signed "S. W." I suggest the latter to be the Rev. Samuel Whiting, born in Boston, co. Lincoln, in 1597, entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1613, A.B. 1616-17, A.M. 1620, rector of Skirbeck, co. Lincoln, emigrated in 1636, and became pastor at Lynn, where he died in 1679. A William Wood entered Corpus Christi, Cambridge, in 1613; A. B. 1616-17; A.M. 1620; this contemporary of Samuel Whiting at the University may be our New England author. Another William Wood was of St. John's in 1615, A.B. 1618-19, A.M. 1622; and still another entered Emmanuel in 1625.¹

It will be useful to have the alumni of Cambridge and Oxford Universities arranged by colleges:

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY

CAIUS COLLEGE. <i>See</i> GONVILLE AND		Dudley, Rev. Samuel
CAIUS COLLEGE		Firmin, Rev. Giles
CHRIST'S COLLEGE		Gibson, Rev. Richard
Bellingham, William		Greene, Rev. Henry
Jenner, Rev. Thomas		Harvard, Rev. John
Rogers, Rev. Ezekiel		Hooker, Rev. Thomas
Smith, Rev. Ralph	4	James, Rev. Thomas
CLARE COLLEGE		Johnson, Isaac
Saltonstall, Sir Richard		Knight, Rev. William
Skelton, Rev. Samuel		Leverich, Rev. William
Wheelock, Ralph	3	Maude, Rev. Daniel
CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE		Mellowes, Edward
Burr, Rev. Jonathan		Mildmay, William
Child, Dr. Robert		Pelham, William
Josselyn, Henry		Perkins, William
Wetherell, Rev. William	4	Phillip, Rev. John
EMMANUEL COLLEGE		Prudden, Rev. Peter
Blaxton, William		Rogers, Rev. Nathaniel
Bradstreet, Gov. Simon		Sadler, Rev. Richard
Browne, Rev. Edmund		Saltonstall, Richard
Cheever, Ezekiel		Shepard, Rev. Thomas
Denison, Daniel		Stone, Rev. Samuel
		Symmes, Rev. Zechariah

¹ The Richard Harris who died at Cambridge, Mass., on August 29, 1644, is sometimes identified with the Richard Harris who matriculated at New College, Oxford, in 1636; but this is an error, since it has recently been proved that the Richard Harris of New College was living in 1662.

Walton, Rev. William		ST. CATHARINE'S COLLEGE	
Ward, Rev. John		Bulkley, Rev. Edward	
Ward, Rev. Nathaniel		Denton, Rev. Richard	
Waterhouse, Rev. Thomas		Knollys, Rev. Hanserd	
Whiting, Rev. Samuel		Norcross, Rev. Nathaniel	
Yonges, Rev. John	34	Pecke, Rev. Robert	
GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE		Sherman, Rev. John	6
Allen, Rev. Thomas		ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE	
Allin, Rev. John		Alcock, George	
Fordham, Rev. Robert		Baker, Rev. Nicholas	
Miller, Rev. John		Bulkeley, Rev. Peter	
Phillips, Rev. George	5	Carter, Rev. Thomas	
JESUS COLLEGE		Cooke, George	
Eliot, Rev. John		Dalton, Rev. Timothy	
Higginson, Rev. Francis	2	Huit, Rev. Ephraim	
KING'S COLLEGE		Woodmansey, Robert	
Dane, Rev. Francis		Worcester, Rev. William	9
Newton, Rev. Roger		SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE	
Wilson, Rev. John	3	Burdett, Rev. George	
MAGDALENE COLLEGE		Harrison, Rev. Thomas	
Dunster, Henry		Moxon, Rev. George	
Eaton, Rev. Samuel		Smith, Rev. Henry	
Hobart, Rev. Peter		Wheelwright, Rev. John	5
Knowles, Rev. John		TRINITY COLLEGE	
Morrell, Rev. William		Chauncy, Rev. Charles	
Reyner, Rev. John	6	Cotton, Rev. John	
PEMBROKE		Downing, Emmanuel	
Blackwood, Rev. Christopher		Eaton, Rev. Nathaniel	
Corlett, Elijah		Hinckley, Gov. Thomas	
Williams, Rev. Roger	3	Humfrey, John	
PETERHOUSE		Larkham, Rev. Thomas	
Brewster, William		Partridge, Rev. Ralph	
Fiske, Rev. John		Peirson, Rev. Abraham	
Norton, Rev. John	3	Peter, Rev. Hugh	
QUEENS' COLLEGE		Rashley, Rev. Thomas	
Fenwick, George		Saxton, Rev. Peter	
Jones, Rev. John		Weld, Rev. Thomas	
Lothrop, Rev. John	3	Winthrop, Gov. John	14
OXFORD UNIVERSITY			
ALL SOULS COLLEGE		Peter, Rev. Thomas	
Matthews, Rev. Marmaduke	1	Tompson, Rev. William	4
BALLIOL COLLEGE		CHRIST CHURCH	
Jordan, Rev. Robert		Blakeman, Rev. Adam	1
Norris, Rev. Edward	2	EXETER COLLEGE	
BRASENOSE COLLEGE		Maverick, Rev. John	1
Mather, Rev. Richard		HART HALL	
Noyes, Rev. James		Pyncheon, William	1

MAGDALEN COLLEGE		PEMBROKE COLLEGE	
Lyford, Rev. John		Street, Rev. Nicholas	1
Mayo, Rev. John			
Newman, Rev. Samuel		QUEEN'S COLLEGE	
Parker, Rev. Thomas		Avery, Rev. Joseph	1
Woodbridge, Rev. Benjamin	5		
MERTON COLLEGE		ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE	
Davenport, Rev. John	1	Bachelor, Rev. Stephen	
		Willis, Thomas	2
NEW COLLEGE			
Whitfield, Rev. Henry	1	ST. MARY'S HALL	
		Hull, Rev. Joseph	
NEW INN HALL		Warham, Rev. John	2
Blinman, Rev. Richard			
Bright, Rev. Francis	2		
		TRINITY COLLEGE	
ORIEL COLLEGE		Cobbett, Rev. Thomas	
Lenthall, Rev. Robert		Hooke, Rev. William	2
Pole, William	2		

MARCH MEETING, 1922

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 23 March, 1922, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Dr. HOMER GAGE accepting Resident Membership; from Mr. JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN accepting Corresponding Membership; and from Mr. JOHN SINGER SARGENT accepting Honorary Membership.

Mr. WILLIAM C. LANE read the following paper:

NEW HAMPSHIRE'S PART IN RESTORING THE LIBRARY
AND APPARATUS OF HARVARD COLLEGE AFTER
THE FIRE OF 1764

The Harvard Library has lately received from the family of George Seward Frost, of the Class of 1865, a copy of the Memorial addressed by the President and Fellows of Harvard College to the Governor, Council and House of Representatives of the Province of New Hampshire, asking aid in rebuilding Harvard Hall and replacing the collections destroyed by the fire of 1764.

Inasmuch as this memorial is not to be found in the New Hampshire Archives,¹ it may be worth while to print the copy which has come into the possession of the Harvard Library,² and to note briefly the means adopted by the Corporation to make good its great loss.

¹ New Hampshire Provincial Papers, vii. 47.

² The text in substantially the same form is found in the Corporation Records, College Book, vii. 120-121.

The fire which consumed Harvard Hall occurred on the night of January 24, 1764, during the winter vacation. This was due to end on February 8, but the small-pox had appeared in Boston to the alarm of the inhabitants, and in the destruction of Harvard Hall the College had lost not only its Library and philosophical apparatus, but also its Dining Hall and Kitchen. Early warning was therefore given (February 1) that the students should not return to College until "they have Notice of a proper Time for it . . . in the public News-Paper," and, in fact, the date for the reassembling of the College was postponed from time to time, so that the College did not open again until July, 1764.

On February 1 the Corporation voted "That there be an Advertisement put forth in the public Prints, That whosoever have in their keeping any of the Books belonging to the late Library of Harvard-College do as soon as may be, make Return of Them to the Pres^{dt} or at least an Account of every One of s^d Books w^{ch} They have in their Possession."¹ On February 13 the following votes were passed:

1. Whereas by the Holy & Righteous Providence of God, the most antient of our Buildings has been consumed wth Fire, wherein were our Library & Apparatus, w^{ch} greatly exceeded in value the Building itself & Tho' the Gen^l Court hath been pleas'd generously to make us a Grant, whereby Provision is made, for rebuilding the House, yet as there is no Provision as yet, made for the Reparation of the Library & Apparatus, Therefore Voted, That for that Purpose a Subscription be set forward, to Sollicit the Charity of any That may be dispos'd to assist us in the Repair of y^e great Losses we have sustain'd. And that this Vote be presented to the Hon^{ble} & Rev^d The Board of Overseers for their Concurrence. And That D^r Sewall² & D^r Wigglesworth³ with our Treas^r⁴ be a Com^{tee} to joyn with such as the Overseers (if they concur with this Vote) shall appoint to draw a Form for this design'd subscription, That it may be speedily set forward.

2. That a Letter be sent p the Pres^{dt} in the Name of the Corporation to our Province Agent Jasper Mauduit of London Esq^r praying him to sollicit Benefactions (from such as may be charitably dispos'd)

¹ College Book, vii. 112, 113.

² Rev. Joseph Sewall (H. C. 1707).

³ Rev. Edward Wigglesworth (H. C. 1710).

⁴ Thomas Hubbard (H. C. 1721).

for the Reparation of our Losses, by the Destruction of our Library & Apparatus.¹

That gifts of books had already begun to come in is shown by votes passed the same day, giving thanks to the Rev. Dr. Joseph Sewall and the Rev. Mr. John Usher.

By March 5 plans for securing contributions of books and money, through the aid of the reverend ministers settled throughout the land, had so far shaped themselves that the Corporation could pass the following vote:

1. Whereas the Hon^{ble} & Rev^d the Board of Overseers of Harvard-College have reco^mended to the Corporation to appoint proper Persons to receive the Donations in Money or Books of any Persons in America, who may be dispos'd to contribute to a new Library for the College, And that Notice be given in the public News-papers, That such Persons are ready to receive such Donations, And that if any Persons desire their Names may be conceal'd & would signify any Mark or Word by w^{ch} They would have the Rec^t of their Donations ascertain'd, Such Desire shou'd be comply'd with. Therefore in Conformity to the above Reco^mendation, The Corporation make it their earnest Request, That the Rev^d Ministers of all Denominations in this & the neighboring Govern^{ts} wou'd undertake to be Receivers of such Donations as may be made by pious & charitable Persons, in their respective Parishes. And that they will be pleas'd to signify to their People (in such Manner as their own Prudence shall direct) That they stand ready to receive such Donations; And that they will be further pleas'd in convenient Time, to inform the Pres^{dt} or the Treas^r of said College what Donations may deposited wth Them. And We humbly hope, That all who wish well to the Interests of Religion & Learning, will compassionate our Present destitute State, (by w^{ch} the Students are under much Disadvantage as to their Learning) and will have their Hearts & Hands opened, to contribute liberally to the Reparation of the great Losses both in the Library & Apparatus w^{ch} God in his holy Providence hath suffer'd to befall the Society under our Care.

6. That the Pres^{dt} take Care that the first Vote of this Meeting be put in all the public Prints.

To write to Govern^r Wentworth & to Mr. B. Franklin of Philadelphia wth Respect to the Purport of the first Vote of this Meeting.

Mem^o Govern^r Wentworth wrote to.³

¹ College Book, vii. 113-114.

² H. C. 1719.

³ College Book, vii. 114-115.

On April 28 the following vote is recorded:

Whereas We have had generous Offers made Us, towards the Reparation of our Mathematical & philosophic Apparatus, to the Value of near forty Pounds Sterl. Provided We shall have s^d Apparatus ready for Use at or before the next Spring; upon the Report of Which several charitably dispos'd Gentlemen in Cambridge have (to expedite the Affair) subscrib'd more than forty Pounds sterl. Therefore That We may be intitl'd to the above Donations & also, that the Scholars might as soon as possible have the Benefit of Instruction in those Parts of Learning exhibited & illustrated thereby, Voted, That the Rev^d D^r Chauncy, M^r Profess^r Winthrop The Rev^d Mess^r Eliot & Cooper,¹ wth any Others, whom the Hon^{ble} & Rev^d Board of Overseers may see Cause to join with Them, be desir'd to Use (wth all convenient Speed) their Endeavours to procure Monies by Subscription, whereby our Treasurer may be enabled to send for said Apparatus by the first Opportunity that Shall Offer.²

The letter to Governor Wentworth, mentioned on March 5, must have brought a favorable response, and on May 28 the following entry appears in the Corporation records:

Whereas the Govern^r of the Province of N. Hampshire hath (upon Application made to Him) manifested a Disposition to incourage a Motion from Us, to their General Court, when they shall meet on the 12th of June next, That they wou'd make Us a provincial Grant, towards the Repair of our Library & Apparatus, Therefore Voted, That an address be made to s^d Governm^t by the Corporation, sign'd by the Pres^{dt} in their Name, for said Purpose, and that it will be convenient, that some one or more in the Governm^t of the College shou'd repair to that Province, to Sollicit the s^d Affair.³

On the next day (May 29) it was voted:

4. That D^r Wigglesworth be desir'd to draught an Address to the Governm^t of New-hampshire, to assist Us in the Repair of our Library & Apparatus.

5. That the Pres^{dt} & M^r Appleton⁴ be desir'd to repair to the Province

¹ Rev. Charles Chauncy (H. C. 1721), John Winthrop (H. C. 1732), Rev. Andrew Eliot (1737), Rev. Samuel Cooper (H. C. 1743).

² College Book, vii. 117.

³ College Book, vii. 118.

⁴ Rev. Nathaniel Appleton (H. C. 1712).

of N. hampshire, to solicit & forward the Address to s^d Province mention'd in the 4th Vote.¹

It is a copy of this Memorial (dated in the College records June 6, 1764) that the Harvard Library has lately received. Mr. Frost, the donor, states that the handwriting is that of his ancestor George Frost,² long a resident of Portsmouth, Newcastle, and Durham, a Judge of Common Pleas in Strafford County and a delegate to the Continental Congress.

To his Excellency Benning Wentworth,³ Esqr. Captain General & Gov^r in Chief in and over his Majesties Province of New hampshire in New England.

To the Hon^{ble} his Majesties Council and the Hon^{ble} House of Representatives of the s^d Province in General Court assembled The Memorial of the President & Fellows of Harvard College in Cambridge in the Massachusetts Bay humbly sheweth.

That it pleased God in his holy Providence to permit the Public Library of the said College & its philosophic Apparatus to be consumed in the Fire w^{ch}. last winter destroyed Harvard Hall That, the Present Students of the College are thereby brot under a Disadvantage which none of their Predecessors have felt with Respect to the Apparatus for almost forty years and with Respect to the Library for above a Century past. That just before the s^d devoring Fire The General Assembly of our own Province had erected a large and beautiful House named Hollis Hall at the Expense of above five Thousand pounds Lawfull money.

That the Rebuilding Harvard Hall will probably Cost much more; as the intended plan of it is larger designed for many publick offices & to secure them better from the Casualties of fire.

That Stoughton Hall⁴ which from its beginning was a very slight Building is now become so ruinous That it cannot much longer be inhabited with safety and therefore before the Students can all be accomodated with Chambers it will be necessary that a new House should as soon as possible be raised in its stead which to Render it uniform with Hollis Hall must be of the same dimensions and so cannot Cost less than that did.

That the Yearly Expense of the Province for the Support of the Officers of the College is now about five Hundred pounds and That

¹ College Book, vii. 119.

² There is a notice of George Frost (1720–1796) in Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography.

³ H. C. 1715.

⁴ The original Stoughton College, built in 1698, taken down in 1781.

as the number of Students increases it will soon be needful to increase the number of Officers also for their better Government & Instruction.

That considering all these Provincial Charges for the Support and encouragement of a religious and learned Education of Youth We cannot expect the Massachusetts Government will be able to add so much More to them as would in any Measure repair the great Losses we have sustained in our Library and Apparatus which were of vastly more value than the House in which they were Reposited That tho We have great Cause of Thankfulness for the very generous Subscriptions for our Relief of many Gentlemen in our own Province yet the Sums Subscribed bear but a Small Proportion to our Losses. That upon inspecting our Ancient Books we find it Recorded to the Honour of New Hampshire That Harvard College in the Daies of our Fathers hath been greatly obliged by the Munificence both of particular New Hampshire Gentlemen and of Whole Towns in that Province.

That in the Year 1669 Several Gentlemen in the Town of Portsmouth upon Piscataqua River Voluntarily ingaged Themselves to give towards the encouragement of ye College Sixty pounds p^r. Annum for Seven Years.¹

That in the Year 1672 Some Whole Towns in that Province made handsom Collections to assist in building the Very House which was destroyed by the late fire.

That as these Things still stand on Record to the Honour so we now mention Them in greatfull Remembrance of Ancient Benefactors and as an Encouragement to hope that the Gentlemen of the present Generation will not be backward to imitate the Piety and Charity of their ancestors. We beg leave to observe further That from the earliest Times to this day That Youths of New Hampshire have had the same Advantages encouragements and (when at any Time they have been needed) the Same Assistances in their Education at Harvard College with the Youths of our own Province no Distinction having ever been made between the Youths of the one Province and the other.

In fine That th^o particular Gentlemen and Whole Towns among you have been Respectable Benefactors and tho parents have been at Expense for their Children yet there hath never been any Provincial Charge to New Hampshire for the Support of the Seminary of Learning in w^{ch} its hopeful youth who are now many of them become its Hono^{ble} Fathers and Worthy Patriots have from time to time had their Education.

We therefore beg leave humbly to Commend the present pitiable Circumstances of the Society under our Care to the Compassionate

¹ On June 3, 1669, the Overseers directed how this gift should be disposed of: see College Book, iii. 53-54.

Consideration of Yo^r Excellency and Honours and Your Memorialists as in duty bound shall ever pray.

EDWARD HOLYOKE Pres^t

In the Name of the Corporation
With the Consent of the Honob^{le}
and Rev^d the Board of Overseers.

Province of

New Hampshire June 15th, 1764.

Read Recomend and order'd to be Sent Down
to the Hon^{ble} House

T. Atkinson, Ju^r 1 Sec^y

Province of

New Hampshire In the House of Representatives June 20th 1764.

This Memo^l being Read and the Subject matter thereof maturly Considerd Resolved & Voted that there be Granted towards Restoring the Philosophic Apparatus for the Use of Said Society three hundred pounds Sterl. to be paid unto the Memoralet that the Committee appointed by Act of Gover^{mt} for drawing Bills on the Agents of this province at London be and are hereby directed and Impowered Immediately to draw bills for Said Sum on the Said Agents In favour of the Memor^lst for the Use aforesaid

.H SHERBURNE,² Spek^r

In Council June 21st 1764

Read and Concured

T Atkinson Ju^r Sec^y

It will be noticed that to the copy of the Memorial has been added the action of the House and Council, June 20 and 21, which agrees with the record as printed in the New Hampshire Provincial Papers.³

This vote, it will be observed, specifically provided for replacing the philosophical apparatus. On January 8, 1765, another message was received from the Governor as follows:

Mr. Speaker & Gentlemen of the Assembly —

I have authority from the President & overseers of Harvard College to acquaint you, that ample provision is made for replacing the Philo-

¹ Theodore Atkinson (H. C. 1757). He was a son of Theodore Atkinson (H. C. 1718).

² Henry Sherburne (H. C. 1728).

³ vii. 47.

sophical Apparatus by another hand, so that the donation intended by this Government for that use, can be of no service as your vote now stands, unless you think proper to enlarge it, which I persuade myself you will readily do, by sending up a vote that the money intended as a donation for the apparatus shall be made use of to purchase a Library of books, which are to be distinguished in the Public Library by the name of the New Hampshire Library, &c. also that the New Hampshire students, as soon as they are qualified to take books out of the Library shall have the preference in using the books of that Library; your donation by this method will be fixed on a more lasting foundation than if applied to the apparatus, and when you have duly weighed my proposal, I shall hope for your concurring with my sentiments.

Council Chamber in Portsmouth, December 27th 1764.¹

On January 12, 1765, a motion was introduced that the vote passed six months before should be sent for to the Council Board, and the Speaker objecting that the House then present did not consist of so many members as when the vote was passed, and that it would be breaking through all rules of the House to send for the vote with a minor number, he was over-ruled and the messenger was sent to the Council Board to desire that the vote might be sent down. The Secretary brought down the vote and delivered it to the Speaker, saying that "when the house had made what use of it they should see meet that the Council expected said vote Returned to them." After many debates thereon it was voted that action could not be taken at the time because so small a number of members was present, and the determination was put off till some time the next week, the clerk being ordered to write to all the absent members to give their attendance the next week without fail, by sending letters to each of them.²

On January 17th, the memorial being under consideration again, there were many debates and deliberations thereon, "In the midst of which Mr. Secy came down & said that the Council desired that the vote . . . be returned to the Council Board." After debate on that point, it was sent up to the Council. It was then "put to vote, Whether the house would alter the appropriation of said grant

¹ New Hampshire Provincial Papers, vii. 51.

² Id. vii. 53-54.

for any use of said Colledge of Harvard, & it passed in the affirmative."¹ In the afternoon, after further debate it was —

Resolved & Voted that if his Excellency the Governor thinks proper to consent to the grant, the money may be applyed towards repairing the Loss of the Library by purchasing of suitable books for the use of the Society. Sent up by the Clerk. [Concurred.]²

Whether any further delay occurred in paying over the money is not clear, but it was not until June 4, 1765, that the Corporation voted —

That the Pres^{dt} and Mr. Winthrop [be] desir'd to write a Letter of Thanks to the Gen^l Court of the Province of New-Hamshire for there Generous Benefaction, in giving to Harvard College the sum of three hundred Pounds Sterl^s towards the repair of our Library: And also to prepare a Letter to their Govern^r particularly on the same Acc^o³

This letter must have been promptly sent forward, and is the occasion of a final reference to the matter in the Journal of the New Hampshire House, June 11th, 1765:

Mr. Sec^y Brot down Edward Holyoke President of Harvard College Letter directed to the three branches of Governm^t Returning the hearty thanks of the Presid^t & Fellows of Harvard College in Cambridge for the assistance generously granted them towards the retrieving the heavy loss they lately sustained in y^e Entire distruction of their public Library & Philosophical apparatus by fire, signed Edward Holyoke Presid^t in the name of the Pres^t & Fellows of Harvard College, which was Read — the original Letter is on file in the Sec^y^s office.⁴

In the handsomely engrossed Donation Book of the College, prepared by Dr. Andrew Eliot ⁵ in 1773, the gifts to repair the loss of the Library and Apparatus are set forth at length. The gift of three hundred pounds from the Province of New Hampshire is duly recorded (i. 70), with the following statement:

² New Hampshire Provincial Papers, vii. 54.

¹ Id. vii. 55.

³ College Book, vii. 132.

⁴ New Hampshire Provincial Papers, vii. p. 67. But the Editor states that "this letter cannot now be found."

⁵ Rev. Andrew Eliot (H. C. 1737).

A Catalogue was transmitted to the Rev^d East Apthorp, by whose care the books were purchased, which fill three Quarters of an Alcove in the Library — 743 vols. The Alcove hath this inscription

PROV. NEO-HANTON.

Auspice

B. WENTWORTH Præfect.¹

A sequel to the New Hampshire gift, following fifteen years later, is worth recording. In the will of Theodore Atkinson² of Portsmouth, dated October 20, 1779, one hundred pounds sterling were bequeathed to Harvard College to "be laid out & improved in purchasing such Books as may be thought most useful in the Study of the Civil, Statute, & Common Law of England. And the Books so purchased my desire is that they may be placed in that part of the s^d College Library assigned for the Donation made by the Province of New Hampshire." It was further provided that the letters "T.A." were to be gilded on them.³

Mr. GEORGE P. ANDERSON read a paper on the land grants made in New Hampshire by Governor Benning Wentworth to Boston men, speaking in substance as follows:

Governor Benning Wentworth⁴ assumed office in 1741 and held it for twenty-five years, the longest term of service of any royal governor in all the colonies. This is evidence that he was a man of ability and tact, in spite of the charge that in his later years he was stubborn. When most governors in other colonies were being dismissed or shifted from one colony to another, he remained in supreme control, and New Hampshire grew in importance.

The controversy between New York and New Hampshire as to the right to make land grants in the district now known as Vermont

¹ The books given by the Province of New Hampshire no longer occupy an alcove by themselves, but are distributed according to subject. The book-plates, however, still bear the Latin inscription as above, indicating their source.

² Theodore Atkinson (H. C. 1718).

³ Harvard College Papers, ii. 112.

⁴ Benning Wentworth (1696-1770) graduated from Harvard College in 1715, being one of eighteen graduates and ranking fifth, according to the social standing given to students at that period.

lasted from 1749 to 1764, when the Crown decided the dispute in favor of New York. Thereafter, from 1764 until 1790, the quarrel was continued by the settlers in the contested district who vigorously and militantly opposed New York authority. The difficulty was finally adjusted in 1790 by the payment of \$30,000 by Vermont to New York to quiet its claim, and in the following year Vermont was admitted to the Union.

In each town charter created by Governor Wentworth there were usually 70 shares, covering about 23,000 acres. The form of the charter was a reflection of the political times and also of the opinions and predilections of the Governor. For the most part the provisions were wise. There was always a reservation of one share for the benefit of a school, one for the first settled minister of the Gospel, one for a glebe for the Church of England, and one for the incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. This latter institution was an Episcopalian scion, and it was aimed to give the Church of England prominence in the new lands. With the advent of the Revolution, the Church of England as such ceased to exert much influence in Vermont, but the Gospel society with the long name still retains its holdings in parts of Vermont, and those who lease the lands are to-day paying rent to the Society which is still in existence in London. It is probable that if the Revolution had not intervened and Vermont had developed along the lines laid down in its town charters, the dominating church influence in that State would be Episcopalian, whereas generally speaking it is to-day Congregational in the towns, and both Congregational and Roman Catholic in most of the cities.

From 1749 to 1764 Wentworth made land grants in 131 towns to more than six thousand persons in this disputed district. The actual number of individuals, as revealed by an examination of the index to Volume XXVI of the New Hampshire State Papers is 5972, and allowing for the single indexing of names which undoubtedly belonged to different individuals in widely separated towns, this total would easily rise above the 6000 mark. Except in a few instances the home town of the grantee does not appear in the original records, so the field for investigation and speculation as to the identity of the grantee is very broad. That most of the grantees lived in New Hampshire itself and in Connecticut and Massachusetts is well established,

but it is a somewhat surprising fact that there was also a large number from New York. There was likewise a goodly representation from Rhode Island, and a few from the district of Maine, mostly from the town of Kittery.

In Massachusetts most of the grantees lived in the western part of the province, particularly in Berkshire and Hampshire Counties, but there was no section of the province that did not join in the speculation. Boston grantees did not become active until about 1761. There were sentimental reasons why Governor Wentworth might have looked with special favor upon applications from Boston, because after his graduation from Harvard he first settled in Boston and was a merchant there for at least four or five years, and his first wife, Abigail Ruck, was a Boston woman.

Study of the grantee lists show that more than eighty Bostonians were grantees in the district now known as Vermont. Some of them were later known as Loyalists and undoubtedly most of them received their grants because they were friends of the established government. Governor Wentworth, of course, was a strong supporter of the Crown, and likewise a devoted adherent of the Church of England, and it is no surprise to note that his favorites were largely found in these two groups. He generously replenished his resources by reserving for himself two grants in each of the 131 towns, gave many grants to his relatives, and repeatedly made numerous grants to members of his official family, some receiving as high as fifty shares.

Grantees who later were among the most uncompromising of the Boston patriots are also found in the list. In the charter for the town of Stockbridge, granted July 22, 1761, a large number of eastern Massachusetts names appear. William Dodge of Ipswich and nine others from that town are identified, Mr. Dodge being a leading patriot in that town. There are grantees from Wenham, Marblehead, Manchester, and Danvers, and a group of more than twenty from Boston. In this last group are found John Ruddock and Joshua Henshaw, selectmen of about that period, Aaron Davis, a prominent resident of Roxbury, Joseph Marion, a supporter of the Land Bank legislation at a somewhat earlier period, Andrew Belcher, son of Jonathan Belcher who had not long before been Governor of Massachusetts, Joremy Green, Thomas Bently, William Sloan, and Samuel Frothingham.

In the middle of this group of grantees, appearing side by side, are the names of William Cooper and Samuel Adams. That these were respectively the capable town clerk of Boston and the well-known patriot leader in Revolutionary days seems certain beyond a reasonable doubt. The other names and the circumstances surrounding the grant make it almost sure that the identity of these two men is as indicated. Samuel Adams is known to have been a land speculator in Maine, at about this period, but this is probably the first time that attention has been called to the fact that he was interested in a Vermont land venture.

Other Boston names in this Stockbridge charter are William Story, Deputy Registrar of the Vice Admiralty Court, a Loyalist destined to experience much trouble in the Stamp Act era, and Thomas Kirk, who in 1768 was locked below deck in John Hancock's sloop *Liberty* while its cargo was landed in evasion of the payment of duties. Samuel Wentworth, a brother of the governor, and a group of three well-known Harvard College men — John Winthrop, the Rev. Edward Wigglesworth, and the Rev. Nathaniel Appleton — also appear. Last, but by no means least, is the name of Thomas Hutchinson. To see the names of Samuel Adams and Thomas Hutchinson appearing as grantees in the same document is indeed surprising, but it must be remembered that this was fourteen years before the American Revolution and antagonism between these two men then had hardly begun.

Another Vermont town in which the grantees were very largely from Boston is Barnard, chartered July 17, 1761. Out of sixty-three grantees, forty-three are described in the charter as being from Boston. It is significant that this town was named for the then governor of the province, Francis Bernard.¹ Two of the governor's sons, John and Francis, are among the grantees of Barnard, and others worth noting are William Daws, Jr., who was destined to make an historic ride to Lexington and Concord on the night of April 18, 1775, having been dispatched by Joseph Warren by a route

¹ In the charter the name of the town is spelled as is the governor's surname, but it has come down in history as Barnard, and suggests the query whether the accepted spelling does not follow the phonetic form of the governor's name at that period. Some of the governor's contemporaries wrote his name Barnard, which would give weight to the theory that Bernard in colonial days was pronounced so as to sound like Barnard.

through Roxbury, lest Paul Revere who went by another route should be intercepted; John Box, a vestryman at King's Chapel; Joseph Webb, who was a prominent Mason; and the following: Abiel Ruddock, Jarathmiel Converse, Story Daws, Thomas Anderson, Jona Mcfar, James Hollowell, Thomas Bently, John Delarue, Ebenezer Pemberton, Joel Bellman, Elisha Story, Jeremiah Saintfair, Jonas Jonathan, Richard Champny, Joshua Bently, Zebulon Grice, Ichabod Inkester, Peter Curtis, Joseph Stoneham, Robert McMellon, Elias Thompson, Isaac Bucknam, Patrick Burt, John Edward, Arthur Abbot, Isaac Longfellow, Isaac Dickman, Benjamin Goldthwait, John Box, Jr., Elisha Hains, and John Vaughn.

Bostonians of note who were grantees in other towns are the Rev. Henry Caner of King's Chapel, whose name appears in the charter of Pomfret and also in two other towns; the Rev. Edward Holyoke,¹ President of Harvard College, a grantee in Pomfret; Thomas Bromfield and Henry Bromfield, belonging to the family from which Bromfield Street gets its name, grantees in Dummerston; and Andrew Oliver, Jr., and William Brattle, grantees in Brattleboro. Other grantees that will be readily recognized were Harrison Gray, Shrimpton Hutchinson, William Hutchinson, Foster Hutchinson, Gamaliel Bradford, Benjamin Lynde, Byfield Lloyd,² Benjamin Faneuil, Henry Deering, Tuthill Hubbard, Thomas Amory, William Smybert, Thomas Brinley, William Taylor, Jr., Daniel Jones, John Moffat, Nathaniel Sparhawk, Monsieur Banbury, and William Hoskins. The last named was associated in business with John Hancock at a somewhat later period.

The foregoing names indicate the leading Bostonians receiving favors from the governor. It has been said that Wentworth was a stubborn man, and he certainly had pronounced likes and dislikes. It is worthy of note that he gave no grants to William Shirley or Jonathan Belcher, with the latter of whom he had marked differences of opinion. Of course none of the New York royal officials with whom he was engaged in dispute over the title to the New Hampshire Grants shared in his favors. It is rather curious to find that John Rowe and Thomas Hancock, merchants, and John Adams and James Otis, the patriots, are entirely omitted, indicating that this type of

¹ Though then residing in Cambridge, Holyoke was a Bostonian by birth.

² Probably an error for Byfield Lyde.

speculation was lacking in attraction to them. It is also strange that, with the possible exception of Nathaniel Sparhawk, not one of Wentworth's classmates at Harvard was remembered with a land gift, although this may be explained by the fact that they were widely separated and some of them of course had died. It is not known how much money Wentworth secured in fees for these grants, but in his later years he was counted a man of wealth. As to the recipients of the grants, it is improbable that any of them ever received any substantial benefit from the investment.

So far as is known not one of this entire list ever became a settler in Vermont, proving that the venture was a speculation pure and simple. Long after the controversy had been settled by the Crown in favor of New York there was an interest in these lands, as is evidenced by the fact that when in 1772 the Committee of Correspondence of Boston set forth twelve grievances against the Crown, one of them was the complaint that settlers who had bought land grants in one colony had been compelled to pay fees a second time or forfeit their rights when the jurisdiction in that colony had been changed by the Crown. This is voiced in grievance number twelve and the original draught is in the handwriting of Dr. Thomas Young, a member of the Committee of Correspondence, who had lost most of his property at an earlier period through an unfortunate reliance on a title to lands lying within the New Hampshire Grants.

As for Benning Wentworth's holdings in the New Hampshire Grants, amounting to no less than 65,000 acres, they were lost to him when the Crown decided against him, but if he had lived until Vermont had declared its independence in 1777, it is probable that his grants would have been allowed to stand by the officials of the new State, as most of them held titles that originated with him.¹

¹ It is an interesting fact that there is in Boston to-day a man named Benning Wentworth who is a collateral descendant of the New Hampshire governor, and he has a son also named Benning Wentworth, thus carrying on the name of this sturdy colonial figure.

APRIL MEETING, 1922

THE STATED MEETING of the Society for this month, postponed by vote of the Council, was held, by invitation of Mr. Henry Herbert Edes, at No. 62 Buckingham Street, Cambridge, on Thursday, 4 May, 1922, at eight o'clock in the evening, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The PRESIDENT announced the death, on the seventeenth of April, of RICHARD MIDDLECOTT SALTONSTALL, a Resident Member.

The PRESIDENT appointed the following Committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices, — Messrs. SAMUEL WILLISTON, MORRIS GRAY, and WILLIAM CUSHING WAIT.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts, — Messrs. JOHN ELIOT THAYER and JOHN LOWELL.

Dr. CHARLES L. NICHOLS spoke of Samuel Danforth's Almanack for the Year 1647 as the earliest perfect almanac now in existence printed in British America, and the only book with the imprint of Matthew Day. He called attention to the arrangement with the month of March as the first page of the Calendar and to the mention in the "Chronological Notes" of the discovery of the "Chrystall Hills" in 1642 by Darby Field — that is, the White Mountains in New Hampshire. This unique almanac was originally owned by the Rev. Samuel Haugh of

Reading, then by Judge Samuel Sewall, and is now in the Henry E. Huntington Library of San Gabriel, California.

Mr. SAMUEL E. MORISON read extracts from two commonplace-books kept by Ephraim Eliot,¹ and exhibited two prints. Of one of these, made by Nathaniel Hurd in 1762 and representing an episode in the career of the notorious Seth Hudson, the following account is copied from one of the commonplace-books:

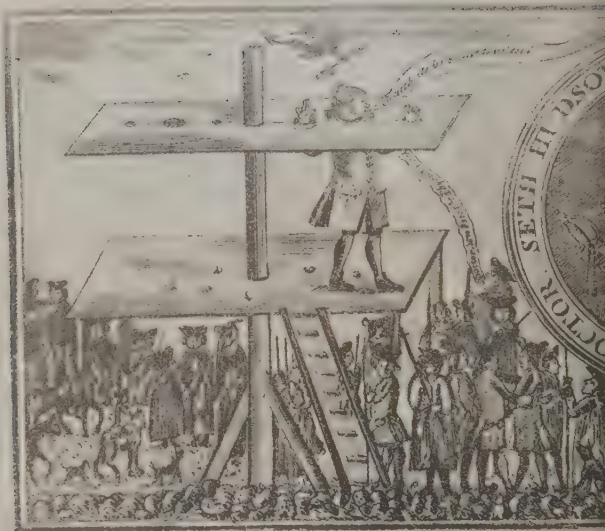
Compiled by Eph Eliot in conformity to the picture.

In the year 1762, there appeared in Boston, a curious character who called himself Doctor Hudson² — gave out that he was a Dutchman — that he was possessed of a large fortune, & was travelling for his amusement. He dressed very gaily — tried to push himself into genteel company & though rather expensive in his appearance, he shewed but little money & displayed no resources — he was well watched. After some time a bad fellow was detected in putting off a note purporting to be from the treasurer of the province, which proved a counterfeit. His name was *Howe*.³ He confessed that he was a partner in villainy with Doctor Hudson, & that they had been privately engaged in making up a number of the province notes, which were in high credit in this & the neighbouring provinces & sold readily at an advanced price. The Doctor was also taken into custody — they were tried & convicted; and ordered to the pillory & whipping post. It was a very mortifying thing to the Doctor — but excited the attention of the people greatly. Their exposure in the pillory was accompanied with a collection of an immense crowd & immoderate exultation. Mr Nathaniel Hurd, an eminent engraver, put out a caricature print of the exhibition, which excited much attention. Hudson was represented in the pillory & at a short distance was Howe stripping near the whipping post by the side of Jack Ketch, to whom he addressed himself with “here’s a back for your whip shillaly” — who answers, “& on my shoul here is a whip.” A gentleman who stands by the pillory, asks Hudson “Doctor, How does the physic work?” & is told “Faith it has brought me to a stool.” The devil is represented

Mr. Eliot (1761-1827; H. C. 1780) was the son of the Rev. Dr. Andrew Eliot (H. C. 1737). For other extracts from the same source, see our Publications, xviii. 54-62, 77-78, xix. 290-295.

² Seth Hudson was born in Lexington, but later lived in Marlboro.

³ Joshua Howe was born in Sudbury, but at the time was living in Westmoreland, N. H.



H-df-n's SPEE

WHAT mean these Crouds, this Noise and
 Did ye ne'er see a *Rogue* before?
 Are *Villains* then a Sight so rare,
 To make you press and gape and stare?
 Come forward all who look so fine,
 With Gain as illy got as mine:
 Step up—you'll soon reverse the Show
 The *Croud* above, and *few* below.

Well—for my Roguery here I stand,
 A Spectacle to all the Land:
 High elevated on this Stage,
 The *greatest Villain* of the Age.
 My Crimes have been both great and m
 Equal'd by very few, if any:
 And for the Mischiefs I have done
 I put this *wooden Neckcloth* on.

Sold by N. HURD, near the Exchange

*Engraved for
from an orig*



from the Pillory.

There *HOW* his brawny Back is stripping,
Quite callous grown with often whipping.
In vain you wear your *Whip-Cord* out,
You'll ne'er reclaim that *Rogue so stout*.
To make him honest, take my Word,
You must apply a *bigger Cord*.

Now all ye who behold this Sight,
That ye may get some profit by't,
Keep always in your Mind, I pray,
These few Words that I have to say.
Follow my Steps and you may be
In Time, perhaps, advanc'd like me;
Or, like my fellow Lab'rer *HOW*,
You'll get at least a *Post* below.

Heart and Crown in Cornhill, Boston.

*Massachusetts
Mary Lincoln Elliot*

flying towards him, exclaiming, "This is the man for me."¹ The Doctor is supposed to address the multitude in the following speech, which is printed below the above described representation — viz. (author unknown).²

H-ds-n's Speech from the pillory

What mean these crowds, this noise & roar?
Did you never see a rogue before?
Are villains then, a sight so rare?
To make you press & gape & stare?
Come forward all who look so fine,
With gain as illy got as mine.
Step up — You'll soon reverse the show;
The croud above — and few below.

Well, for my roguery here I stand,
A Spectacle for all the land
High elevated on this stage
The greatest villain of the age
My crimes have been both great & many,
Equal'd by very few — if any,
And for the mischief I have done,
I put this wooden neckcloth on.

There's Howe his brawny back is stripping
Quite callous grown by frequent whipping
In vain you wear your whip-cord out —
You'll ne'er reclaim that Rogue so stout
To make *him* honest, take my word,
You must apply a bigger cord.

All ye who now behold this sight
That ye may get some profit by 't,
Keep always in your mind I pray
The few words that I have to say
"Follow my steps — and you may be
"In time, perhaps, *advanc'd* like me —
"Or like my fellow Lab'rer — Howe
"You'll get at least a post, below.

¹ In the *New England Magazine* for July, 1832 (iii. 1-7), is an account of Nathaniel Hurd, the first of two unsigned articles called "Early American Artists and Mechanics." Perhaps these were posthumous papers by Mr. Eliot (who died in 1827); but if not, then the author had access to Mr. Eliot's commonplace-book, for the description of the Hudson print is almost word for word identical with the description in our text. Cf. p. 49 note 1, below.

² This sentence in the *New England Magazine* reads: "The Doctor is represented as addressing the multitude in the following speech, which is said to have been written by the celebrated wit and poet, Joseph Green" (iii. 6). Joseph Green was in the Harvard class of 1726.

In front of the print is the representation of a medaillon, on which is a profile of Hudson, dressed in a bag wig, with a sword under his arm, (as he generally appeared before his detection) partly drawn from the scabbard, with the words "Dutch Tuck," on the exposed part of the blade.

The print thus described by Mr. Eliot was published on March 12, 1762, and is here reproduced from an original owned by Miss Mary Lincoln Eliot, a granddaughter of Mr. Eliot. An examination of the Boston Evening Post for the early months of 1762 discloses the following references to Seth Hudson and Joshua Howe:

At the Court of Assize, &c. held at Charlestown last Week, one *Joshua Howe*, of a Place called Westmoreland, in the Province of New-Hampshire, was convicted of procuring and keeping in his Possession sundry Tools for counterfeiting Dollars, with Intent to use them for that End, and for soliciting and tempting divers Persons to be concerned with him therein, and for counterfeiting the Province Treasurer's Notes, &c. He was sentenced to be set in the Pillory one Hour, to be whipped 20 Stripes, and to pay a Fine of £.20. — And upon another Indictment against him for counterfeiting Dollars (of which Crime he was some Years ago convicted) he was sentenced to be committed to the House of Correction, and there kept to hard Labour for the Term of 20 Years. (February 1, 1762, p. 3/3).

On Tuesday last Joshua How received 20 Stripes, and stood in the Pillory one Hour, at Charlestown, agreeable to that Part of his Sentence mentioned in our last Monday's Paper. (February 8, 1762, p. 3/1.)

On Thursday Night last the noted Dr. Seth Hudson, who has been for some Months past confined in the Gaol in this Town on Suspicion of counterfeiting the Province Securities, had well nigh made his Escape from thence, but being discovered he was prevented. (February 8, 1762, p. 3/2.)

Last Friday Afternoon at the Superior Court held here, came on the Trial of the noted Dr. Seth Hudson and Joshua How for counterfeiting the Province Treasurer's Notes, which Fact was proved so plain against them by the Testimony of the Evidences, that the Jury, without going out of Court, bro't them both in guilty: Several other Indictments were found against the said Hudson for Crimes of the like Nature, for which we hear he is to be tried this Week: — The Court House being too small

for the Concourse of People that came to hear the above Trial, the Court was adjourned to one of the largest Meeting-Houses in this Town, where the greatest Number of People attended that was ever known at any Trial in this Place before. (March 1, 1762, p. 3/1.)

At the Superiour Court held here last Week, the noted SETH HUDSON, having been convicted on four several Indictments of counterfeiting the Province Treasurer's Notes, was sentenced to be set in the Pillory one Hour, to be whip'd 20 Stripes, to suffer one Year's Imprisonment, and to pay £. 100 as a Fine to the King, upon each Conviction: The corporal Punishment to be inflicted four Times also. — His Confederate *Joshua How*, who was convicted of the like Crime on two Indictments, was sentenced to be set in the Pillory one Hour, to suffer one Year's Imprisonment, to be whip'd 39 Stripes, and to pay £. 100 Fine on each Conviction. (March 15, 1762, p. 3/1.)

Friday last, just after *Hudson* and *How* receiv'd their Sentence, appeared in Public, a humourous Copper Plate Print, representing the Punishment of two Criminals. . . . On the right of the Profile is display'd a Whipping-Post, with the Apparatus thereto belonging, near which *Hudson's* Fellow-Labourer Mr. *How*, is described as stripping, and turning his head sideways to his dear Brother the Whipper, and saying, "*Here's Back for your Whip, Shilaly!*" [*Shilaly* is a Nick-Name given to the Whipper] to which the exquisitely droll Shadow of *Shilaly* replies "*By my Shoul here's Whip!*" — Under the Picture are four Paragraphs of satirical witty Verse, applicable to the Subject, (intituled, "*H-ds-n's* Speech from the Pillory") which afford a few humbling Considerations to those *concealed Criminals*, who are conscious of being *comparatively guilty* of Crimes *similar* to those for which *Hudson* and *How* justly suffer.

[The above *humourous Piece* may be had of NATH. HURD, Engraver, near the Exchange, and of the Printers hereof. (March 15, 1762, p. 3/1.)

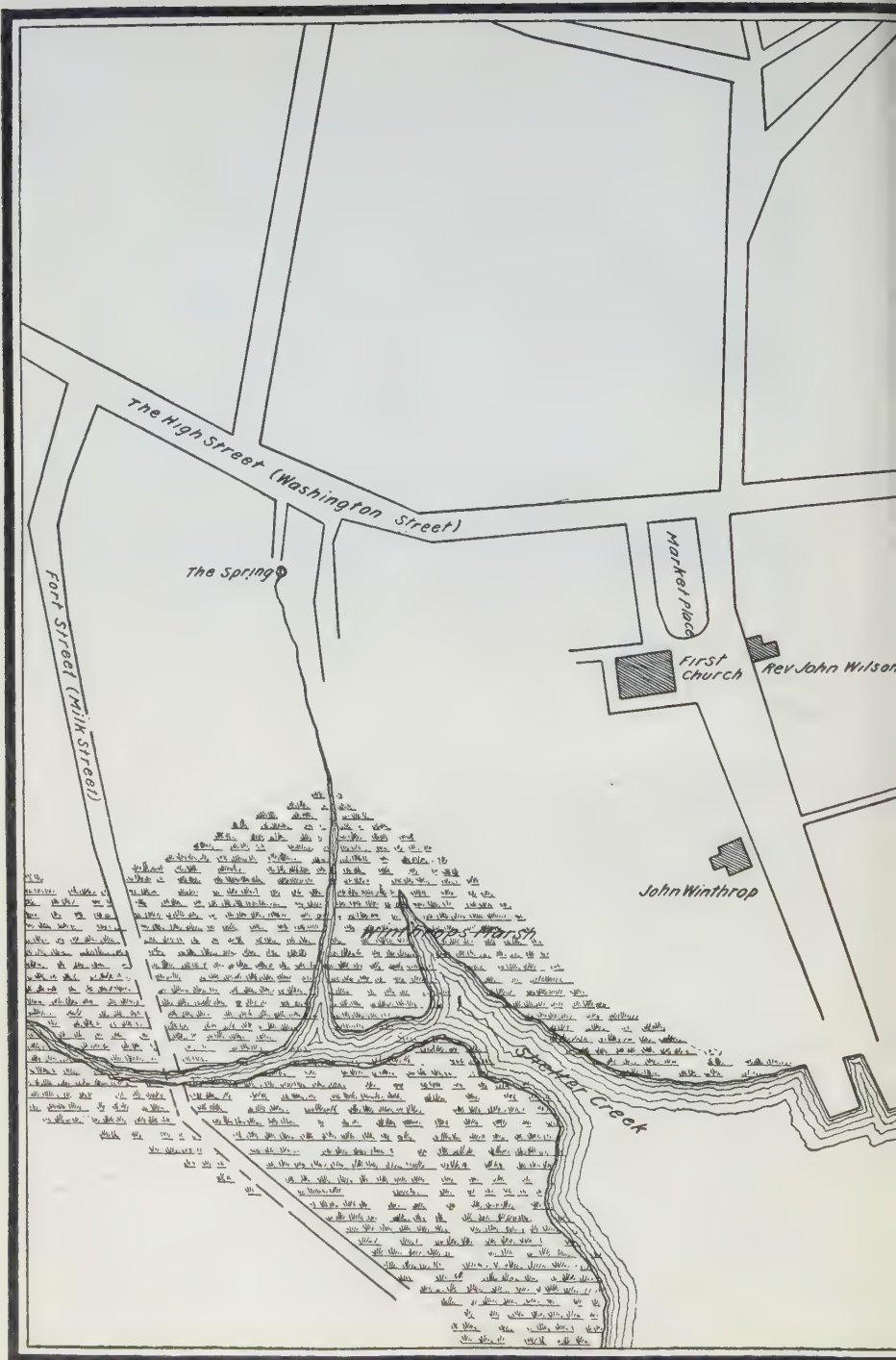
Mr. SAMUEL C. CLOUGH made the following communication:

Some time ago Mr. Tuttle called my attention to a newspaper article regarding a piece of property in Boston the owners of which were unknown. That this particular piece of land had remained unbuilt upon for over two hundred years was no news to me, but the publicity relating to this fact awakened my interest as to its reason and origin.

This land forms a hollow square on the northeasterly side of Creek Square, in the rear of an estate numbering 80 to 88 Blackstone Street, owned by one of our associates, Mr. George Nixon Black. The entire block is bounded by North, Union, Marshall, Hanover, and Blackstone Streets. It is of interest to note that there are several landmarks still in existence within these limits, that the northerly abutter was formerly John Hancock, and in the near neighborhood stood the Old Feather Store, Triangular Warehouse, and Faneuil Hall. The streets surrounding this block have undergone various changes to conform to modern times, but the old square has remained unchanged for nearly two centuries. The location of this particular piece of land is indicated on the accompanying chart, and was originally covered by the water of the harbor; hence its origin and formation are due to the circumstances relating to its development.

This chart shows the conditions existing prior to 1640, and before a time when any attempt was made to improve them. The leading merchants had their houses near the center of the town or in the vicinity of the head of State Street. Referring to the chart, it will readily be seen that very little of the shore line between the present Milk and Hanover Streets was free of marsh land, and that it was very irregular on account of the several creeks and coves. The opportunity of landing or shipping goods was very limited, and naturally restricted to those merchants who had suitable wharf rights.

Within thirteen years after the settlement of Boston, three enterprises were started which led to the development and formation of this section of the present city. On May 29, 1643, Valentine Hill with Governor Winthrop commenced the project of digging Shelter Creek south of the present State Street and making suitable provision for wharfing. On November 29, 1641, Valentine Hill and his associates were granted all the waste ground in Bendalls Cove, now Faneuil Hall Square. On July 31, 1643, Henry Symons, George Burdon, John Button, John Hill, and their partners, were granted "All that Cove on the Norwest side of the Causey leading toward Charleton," for the purpose of damming the high tide in such a manner as to operate mills for grinding corn. The "Causey" or causeway ran along the easterly shoreline of the cove, on a parallel line northwest to the present Salem Street. This project gave the mill pro-





Map Showing
 THE GREAT COVE & VICINITY
 1640-1650
 Drawn by
 Samuel C. Clough
 May 4, 1922

prietors the privilege of cutting through the marsh between the cove and a creek on the line of the present Blackstone Street, thus bringing their interests into union with those of the Bendalls Cove proprietors. The spur of land and marsh on the northwest side of the present North Street formed a natural dividing line between these two enterprises, and we will turn our attention to their development.

As early as 1637, John Lowe was granted a piece of marsh which afterwards became his houselot on that site known to the Bostonians in the last century as "Simmons's Oak Hall." John Hill and Henry Symons built their homes near the corner of the present North and Union Streets. A large portion of the marsh east and north of Hill and Symons was granted to Richard Bellingham on the "quiet resignation of all claim unto the waste before his house." This marsh extended from the present Union Street, its northerly boundary line running on a slant line to the rear of the present No. 48 North Street. From this line it embraced all the land to the present North Street excepting those lots before mentioned of Hill, Symons, and Lowe.

It was stipulated in the first grant to the Mill Cove proprietors, that they should have a strip of marsh 60 feet wide throughout, and by a later grant 33 feet of marsh were added. Through these grants, John Milom, who seems to have been the most active proprietor, became invested with a strip of marsh on the southwesterly side of the Mill Stream, between the present Hanover Street and North Street, excepting a broad creek which extended westerly toward Union Street. This fell to the share of another proprietor — William Franklin. The westerly line of the creek was about 80 feet east of the present Union Street, and a portion of his marsh extended further west, including the present Marsh Lane, which was the private entrance to Franklin's wharf.

Bellingham disposed of his land fronting to North Street in lots and sold the entire marsh in the rear to James Everill. Everill sold the lower portion in form of a triangle to Joshua Scottow in 1650. In 1651 Scottow purchased half of Franklin's creek and marsh. It was Scottow who developed this creek and made it suitable for mercantile purposes, and for many years it was known as Scottow's Dock.

One of the first mills built by the Mill Cove proprietors was located on a site corresponding to about No. 79 Blackstone Street, which required a crosswork to retain the tide water. This was ordered to be removed in 1649, but the westerly portion probably established the southerly line of Franklin's first wharf.

William Franklin lived at the upper corner of the present Exchange Street and Adams Square. By a deed unrecorded, he sold all of his wharf property to Samuel Bennet of Lynn, who conveyed the same to William Brown and George Corwin, both merchants of Salem, in 1665 and 1666. James Russell, of Charlestown, who married Abigail, the daughter of George Corwin, came into possession of one-half of the Franklin property. The other half he purchased of William Brown in 1686.

In 1703 Russell sold the property to David Jenner in two portions which were divided by the broad passage now known as Creek Square. The upper portion included a part of the Crawford Range Co. and the present Marsh Lane. The lower portion comprised all wharfing, warehouses and tenements, northeast of the broad passage, with the Mill Creek on the northeast and Scottow's Dock on the southeast. Jenner conveyed the property in half portions to Jeremiah Allen and James Barnes in 1703 and 1704. In the description of these deeds no information is given that will determine the outline of the wharf to the east and south, it simply says "swinging around on the Mill Creek and Scottow's Dock."

In 1706 Allen and Barnes sold the entire property to Adino Bulfinch in three separate parcels: first, the portion west of the broad passageway; second, a warehouse and wharf butting on Thomas Winsor; and third, a tenement, lean-to, and wharf, bounded northwest on the warehouse, northeast on the Mill Creek, and southeast on Scottow's Dock. In the same year (1706) Bulfinch mortgaged the third parcel to Thomas Willis of Medford and in this instrument we find the following clause:

And it is hereby Mutually, Covenanted, agreed & Consented unto by and between the sd. Adino Bulfinch and Thomas Willis, parties to these present for themselves, their heirs and assignees in the manner and form following anything herein contained to the Contrary Notwithstanding, That is to say that about Thirty one foot and an half of Land or Wharf of the above granted premises reaching as far as the middle of the sd.

well lying on the South Easterly side of the said Bulfinche's land and before the Message or Tennement of the said Ground hereby granted at Eight foot distance from the said Tennement, and so ranging down the aforesaid breadth of Thirty one foot and an half to the Dock and broad passageway together with the said Well shall forever hereafter lye in Equal and perpetual Common between the sd. parties and their heirs and assignees without Inclose for the use and accommodation of the housing and Lands there both of the sd. Bulfinch and Willis and for the passing and repassing into, out of and from the same, with Cart, Man or otherwise by and through a Gateway of about 10 foot meant to be made at as against the aforesaid broad passage. . . .

And also that the sd. Thomas Willis his heirs or assignees shall not at any time or times hereafter build, Erect or set up any thing against that part of the South East side of the sd. Bulfinche's Warehouse which comes out about nine foot and three Inches beyond the front of the sd. Tennement hereby sold.

In 1708 Thomas Willis conveyed the southeasterly portion, there being three distinct tenements, to his son Stephen Willis. The last reference to this clause appears in a deed in 1761 when a portion of the estate was conveyed to one of the heirs, Thomas Parker. In this deed the original conveyance of Franklin to Bennet is also mentioned. In 1785 the Parker heirs sold a portion to Thomas Dillon and another portion to Samuel Whitwell. In this last conveyance we find a blacksmith's shop, which is probably the one standing there to-day, which seems to be in violation of the clause made in 1706. The restricted area is indicated on the last chart. This chart also shows the cut made on the southwesterly side of Blackstone Street when it was widened in 1834.

Mr. MORISON also exhibited a satirical print which is thus described by Mr. Eliot:

In the beginning of the year 1768, when the measures of the British government were assuming more & more of a threatening appearance, the house of Representatives of Massachusetts voted to send a circular letter to the legislatures of the several provinces, upon the alarming state of affairs with the mother country. This measure gave so much umbrage to his majesty, the King, that he sent out orders to Governor Bernard, peremptorily to demand that the said vote &c. should be rescinded, &

obliterated. This demand being judged unreasonable, after debate, a vote was passed not to conform to it. Seventeen members only voting for it, & ninety two against. These numbers therefore were used in a political manner — Seventeen being called the Tory number — and the *glorious Ninety two*, as it was called, was denominated that of the Whigs.¹ The seventeen members were branded with the name of *Rescinders*, & were held up to view in a contemptuous manner. In order to render them more contemptible, Paul Revere, (afterwards Colonel of a regiment in the service of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, but then a Silver-smith & Engraver) issued a caricature print, headed with the words —

A Warm Place — Hell.

The delineation was, a monstrous open jaw, resembling that of a shark, with flames issuing from it, & the devil with a large pitchfork driving the seventeen rescinders into the flames — exclaiming “Now I’ve got you — a fine haul, by Jove.” As a reluctance is shown by the foremost man, at entering, who is supposed to represent the Hon. Timothy Ruggles Esq. of Worcester,² another devil is drawn with a fork, flying towards him, crying out — “push on Tim.” Over the upper Jaw is seen in the back ground, the Cupola of the province house with the Indian & bow & arrow, (the crest of the province arms). In this house was the Governor’s residence.

A copy of this print fell by accident into the writers hands — some time since. He enquired the particulars of Col. Revere respecting it. The Colonel was then eighty years of age, & observed that he had not

¹ On February 4, 1768, the House appointed a committee to prepare a circular letter, and on the 11th the committee reported a letter to the House. On June 21 Gov. Bernard sent a message to the House requiring it “to rescind the resolution . . . in consequence of which a circular letter had been sent to the several assemblies upon the continent.” On June 30th the House, by a division of 92 to 17, refused to rescind the resolution. See our Publications, viii. 95 note 1. The number 92, like Wilkes’s number 45, at once became famous, and the two were often coupled together, as in the following amusing passage: “We are pleased to hear from a neighbouring Colony, that the glorious Cause of Liberty is adhered to in the strictest Manner; that it has a Tendency to reconcile all intestine Party Disputes, and unite every Sect and Denomination in Religion: As an instance of this Truth, a Gentleman of the Presbyterian Persuasion aged just 45, was on Sunday last married to a Quaker Lady of great Fortune, of the same Age; it is also remarkable that this Gentleman is her 45th Suiter; they are determin’d to name their first Son Forty-Five and their first Daughter Ninety-Two” (Boston Gazette, January 30, p. 3/2).

² Timothy Ruggles (1711-1795; H. C. 1732) was of Hardwick, not Worcester.

Map Showing
CREEK SQ. & VICINITY
1706

Drawn by
Samuel C. Clough
May 4, 1922

Conveyances by Barnes & Allen

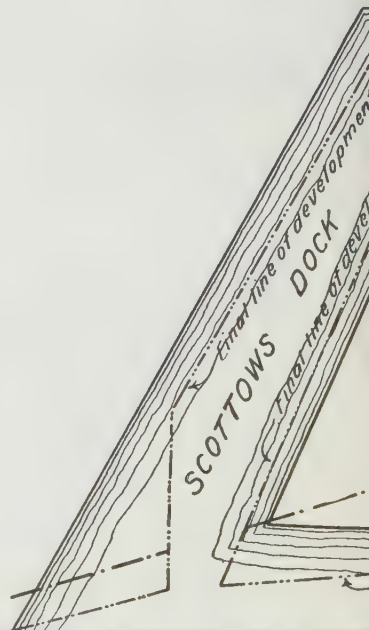
A- Dec. 17, 1706 to Adina Bulfinch

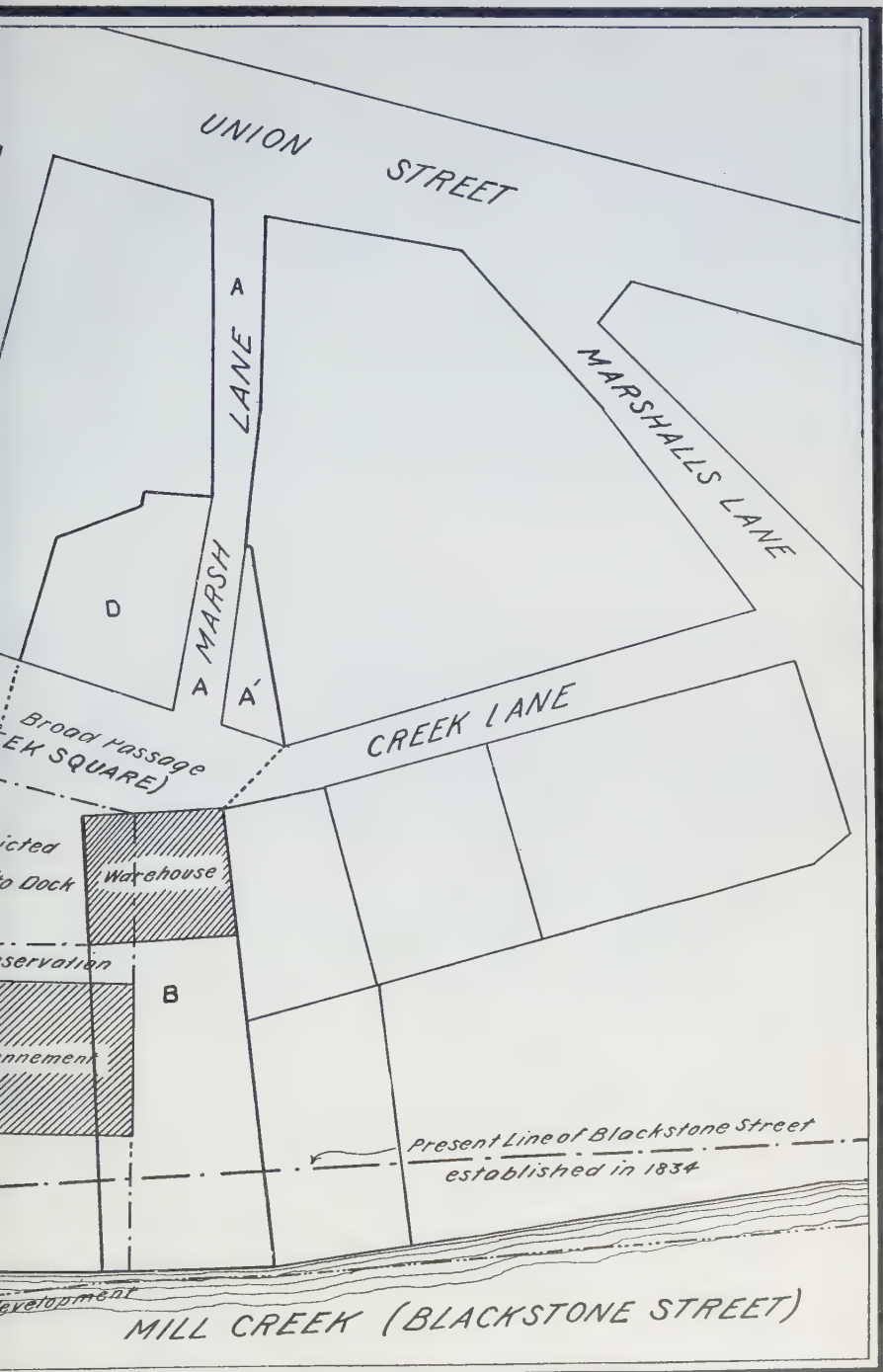
A'- Jan. 17, 1706 to " "

B- Jan. 17, 1706 to " "

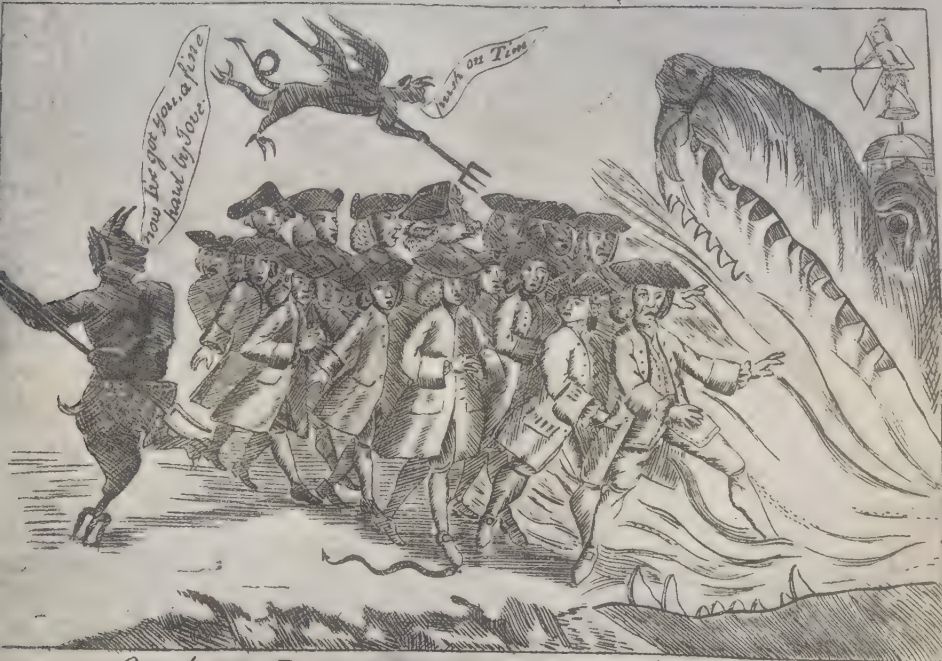
C- April 23, 1706 to " "

D- Oct. 31, 1706 to Joseph Alline





A WARM PLACE --- HELL.



On brave RESCINDERS! to yon yawning Cell,
 SEVENTEEN such Miscreants sure will scuttle Hell;
 There puny Villains damn'd for petty Sin,
 On such distinguish'd SCOUNDRELS gaze and grin:
 The out done DEVIL will resign his sway,
 He never curst his MILLIONS in a day.

Publ. Amm'd'y to Acty. Marly

*Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
 from an original owned by Miss Mary Lincoln Eliot*

seen a copy of it for forty years — was pleased to find that one was in preservation & offered to buy it. He said that he was a young man, zealous in the cause of liberty when he sketched it¹ & had forgotten the circumstances — but this he did remember, that while he was doing it, the famous *Doct Church*² (then considered a leading whig, though he afterwards proved defective) came into his shop & seeing what he was about, took a pen & wrote the following lines as an accompaniment. The Colonel then delivered them with much pathos exactly as they are on the print.

“On brave *Rescinders!* to yon yawning cell,
 “*Seventeen* such miscreants, sure will startle Hell.
 “There puny Villains damn’d for petty sin,
 “On such distinguish’d *Scoundrels* gaze & grin.
 “The out done *Devil* will resign his sway,
 “He never curst his millions in a day.”

He was asked to call over their names, but could recall only the above named Timothy Ruggles, & Doctor Robert Calef³ of Ipswich, whom he had particularized in the print with a *Calfs head*.

¹ The second of the two articles referred to above (p. 41 note 1), printed in the New England Magazine for October, 1832 (iii. 305–314), is an account of Paul Revere. The description there given of the plate of “A Warm Place — Hell” is almost word for word identical with the description in our text. But the first two sentences in this paragraph read thus in the New England Magazine: “A copy of this print fell by accident, many years ago, into the hands of a gentleman of our acquaintance, who inquired the particulars respecting it of Colonel Revere” (iii. 309).

² Benjamin Church (H. C. 1754).

³ As Revere was born December 21, 1734, nearly half a century must have elapsed between the making of the plate and Mr. Eliot’s talk with Revere. Hence some inaccuracies in Revere’s statements might not unreasonably be expected. Thus “Dr. Robert Calef” is an error for Dr. John Calef: see our Publications, viii. 95, 96 note, 97 note.

There is another possible inaccuracy of a more serious nature. Did Revere “sketch” the print, as he claimed? At the bottom of the plate are the words: “Pub^d Accord’g to Act by M Darly” — the M and D in the last name being run together in a monogram. In his Life of Colonel Paul Revere (1891, i. 60 note) Elbridge H. Goss, misled by the monogram, stated that the name was “Marly.” In Bryan’s Dictionary of Painters and Engravers (ed. G. C. Williamson, 1903, ii. 11) the name is given as “Matthew Darby.” In S. Redgrave’s Dictionary of Artists (1878, p. 115) is a notice which reads in part as follows:

“DARLY, Matthew, engraver. He kept a shop in the Strand in the latter part of the 18th century, and was better known as a caricaturist than an engraver. . . . He . . . is known to have produced altogether about 300 caricatures, and to have

Our reproduction of this print is from a copy also owned by Miss Mary L. Eliot.

Mr. JULIUS H. TUTTLE submitted two papers relating to the New Hampshire Grants, now Vermont:

The following papers by Charles Phelps,¹ which are submitted with the kind permission of Dr. James Lincoln Huntington of Boston, a descendant whose family owns the ancient Phelps homestead in Hadley, are of interest in connection with the Massachusetts and New York claims to these Grants. It may perhaps be possible to

thrive upon the personalities of the day. In 1778 he advertised his 'Comic Exhibition,' admittance 1 s. For a time he resided in Bath."

In Musgrave's Obituary (ii. 142) appears this: "Darley, Matt., chalcograph. 1775. (MS.)." See also the Dictionary of National Biography.

In a letter to the Editor dated Oxford, October 1, 1922, Dr. Morison writes:

"With the aid of Sir Charles Firth, and his extensive collection of satirical prints of the eighteenth century, I think I can suggest a solution of the question of the authorship of 'A Warm Place — Hell.' Matthew Darly was designer, engraver, and printseller at the same time, with a shop at 39 Strand, of which a print, engraved by himself, is minutely described in the Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Satires, 1883, iv. 784-786. He was in the habit of engraving designs for other people, in some cases adding his name to that of the artist, in others omitting the latter, and in others (as in a famous one, 'The Scotch Hurdy-Gurdy,' executed for George Townshend in 1762) using pseudonyms for both. For instance, I find in the Firth collection three small volumes of octavo prints bound in one, with the engraved title '24 Caricatures by Several Ladies Gentlemen Artists &c. Pub^d by M. Darly, Strand . . . 1771,' and two folio volumes of similar character. Wherever such prints are signed by Darly, the signature is the same as in 'A Warm Place — Hell.' [That is, the M and D are run together in a monogram.]

"Consequently I suppose that Paul Revere did design this print, but that he sent it to Darly to be engraved and published. The local touches of the Province House Indian and 'Push on Tim' and the pig's head, would seem to preclude the supposition of its design by a London artist.

"I did not find in the Firth collection any of Darly's own designs of a political nature—he designed mainly characters—which makes it all the more likely that he did this plate on order."

An examination of the Boston Gazette for the last half of the year 1768 fails to disclose any allusion to the caricature.

¹ Charles Phelps (1717-1789) was born in Northampton, removed to Hadley about 1743 and thence to New Marlboro, Vermont. His first wife, who died in 1777, was Dorothy Root. His son Charles Phelps, Jr. (1744-1814), married Elizabeth Porter; and his daughter Dorothy married Lemuel Warner. See S. Judd, *History of Hadley* (1863), pp. 552, 590.

identify the fifty townships referred to in the Massachusetts claim, which Mr. Phelps was struggling so hard to establish.

I

For Mr. Charles Phelps, Jr., in Hadley pr Favor of Mr. Warner of Hadley.

June 5, 1774.¹

Having arrived at Boston, Monday night after I left your house, and Waiting upon Councillor Bowdoin,² and Mr. Adams,³ the General Courts Committee, appointed to draw up the State of this Province, Claim and Right to those 50 Townships etc. It was in manner finished, Mr. Adams Red it to me for my Consideration thereof: I desired to have it Prepared and Finished against fryday that week, ready to Present it to the General Court for their Perusal, Previous to my throwing in a Petition to have them immediately Prosecute all those measures and prepare all those matters Necessary for the preparing a Successfull Transmit of our Claim, Petition, and Remonstrance, to the King and Council. For the Reanexing them Lands to this Province, which measures to be so undertook and gon through with, would take up near 8 months Do what we could, before they would be accomplished, and that altho the sentiments of administration at home, are at present so bad, that it would not do at all, now to Send the Petition for the reanexing of them Lands yet, nevertheless, that was not aney reasonable objection, against the Performing now Everything Necessary, and keeping all the Performances therefore untill the Circumstances of things were altered in favour of the Petition and then send Immediately for the Recovery thereof with all the Pre-requisites therefor ready in the archives of the Court — for many important Reasons therefor I adduced, gained the opinion of all I discoursed with of both Houses to assist me in the Petition I preferred for that Purpose — I thought best to Enter the Petition at the Council Board obtained the favorable reception thereof after its being red at the board they Called upon me for the State of the Claim or title of the Government which was ordered Last Session to be Drew etc I presented it but it was not signed they said then I carried it Back to the Committee for Signing: they had no Commission from the Province attested by the Secretary⁴ in form as they ought to have of ye appointment wherefore could not attest it regularly before the Commission was made out by the

¹ The date June 5 is clear: see p. 54 note 2, below.

² James Bowdoin (H. C. 1745).

³ Samuel Adams (H. C. 1740).

⁴ Thomas Flucker.

Secretary these caused a delay 2 Days then the Governor¹ last Saterdag noon adjourned the General Court over to Salem Next tuesday to sit there where and when the Court must meet — Now I must improve my time Every way for advantage against the sittings of the Court there where I must attend. I waited upon Governor Hutchinson at the Castel with an address to his Excellency to do in all the Possible favor he can when he arrives at England and when our Petition and the matter there of shall be sent there for Consideration of the King and Council the Governor tells me if I go over to England in behalfe of the Inhabitants of them Lands he will Do all he Can for their good Consistant with his Circumstances and advises the People by all means to send over a Petition for their reliefe and Settlement of their title and he thinks they will succeed. he advised me to apply to Governor Gage as soon as possible for his assistance in the Premisses and to heare of Him what Lord Dartmouth told him about those lands before he left England and the favor the People had Shewen them alreedy by the Board of Trade there and having Waited upon Governor Gage for that Purpose he assures me to assist me and the People on them Lands and the Government of the Bay (the Circumstances of all which I Disclosed to him) to the utmost of his Powers. and told me many things from Lord Dartmouth very favorable for the People and the Success my Petition met with at England to Stop New York Protest² and if application is properly made both Governors tell me they think Releife for them will be obtained by King and Council.

Governor Hutchinson has advised me to a method for my Security and the People Particularly if the Province Do nothing further for our Help as yet or never shall Effectually apply for a reunion with this Government and he hear assured me he will yeald me all his kind assistance if I should go there whilst he is there unless his Majestys assignation Does not Necessarily Prevent him Doing it otherwise he tells me I may Depend upon his assistance and favor and he Encourages my going if the People on the Lands Can Raise ondy one Hundred Sterling for me in a method he has kindly Continued for me if this Government Do Nothing to Encourage me which under the Present Situation of things I Cant See any Grate Likely hood of their Doing anything at present of Sending a Petition for the Reanexing of them Lands to it. I have opened the affair of my new Petition which the Council have Lying before them for the Premisses to Major Hawley³ whereupon he

¹ Thomas Gage.

² This word is not plainly written, but is probably "Protest:" see Documentary History of New York, iv. 885-886; H. Hall, History of Vermont, p. 186.

³ Joseph Hawley (1723-1788; Yale 1742).

assures me he will Do all he Can to assist me and Several of the Leading Gentⁿ of the Honorable House of Representatives have Expressed their Sincere Desire of having my new Petition answered and promise me using their Influence for my obtaining the Prayer thereof. But Colonl Bowen fiercely opposes me and I suppose Some others are of His mind So that it remains very Precarious whether I can Get my Affairs Completed to my mind as proposed things are in such a bad State at Home against this Province.

Butt all this Does but Employ my mind with greater assiduity more Vigour and resolution to do Something for a Particular or Generall Benefit I am not in the Least Intimidated or Sunk under Discouragement but are Determined I will if Possible Drive through all opposition thrown in my way for I all ways Knew nothing Short of Doing all I Possibly were Capable of would Effect the business but I apprehend by what one of the Gentⁿ of the Honorable board told me I shall be favored by the board in my affairs and I hope I shall by the House

for if I find out it will Rub hard at the House I shall insist upon having the Board and House forming them Selves in one Grand Committee and I Permitted to have a full Hearing before them upon the floor of the House for it as a matter of such Vast Consequence I have a Good Plea to be heard at Large in that manner and then I have an apprehension I can Convince the whole Court that my new Petition and my plan therein is Converted in such a manner that it Will Necessarily appear to a Demonstration to be the Best Way that can be taken to obtain the End Designed in the opinion of Every one that Can Comprehend it.

I am very sensible of my Weakness and Inability to Perform a task So Difficult & Grate against Such Discouragements and opposition the Case is attended with having no more Influence than I have in that Grand Assembly many of which always Suspicious of an Importunate Solicitor being moved from his own Private Interest to Gain an Emolument to himselfe and Family rather than the Common utility of the whole

Hower things may turn If I do all I can I shall have nothing to Lament for my not doing my best to accomplish the Scheem but on failure I Shall therefore With a Humble resignation to the Disposition of Infinite Wisdom Submit this and all other affairs and the Event Waite for in a Way of Duty alone is the Sentiment and Resolution of your loving Father
C.P.

My Love to you, your Worthy, tender hearted and most kind and affectionate mother, your Dear Spouse, your Brothers and Sisters etc. At Present I^m in Health Hoping you all are So too; not Knowing when I

can return, wishing of You and them all Possible *Happiness* and *tranquility*; tho' She your once With Endearment and filial Affection Esteemed it your Honour, and Delight, to Address, with the Endearing Appellation of Mother, *Lamentably Destitute* of Both.

My Good friends, Mr. John Adams and Mr. W^m Pyncheon ¹ have got my Case continued from Last March Court to next July Court the week after Commencement before Judgement can be given against me therefore then I must have the money to pay to prevent Execution

Yesterday I went to the Castel again to present my Last address to Governor Hutchinson and Get his Assistance Promised me if I ask it in the Premises and take my Leave of Him and Wish him a good Passage to England and Safe arrival there and the Happiness of his Majestys favor Whome he has Promissed him to pay him well for his going home to receive further pledges of His Princes favour and a Pension there Equal to His Sallery Here as Governor.

A Number of Gent^a went over from Boston to the Castle to take their Leave of Him ² and Wish him a Good and Comfortable Passage & Safe arrival there and His Kind admittance Into the Presence of His Majesty who ordered Lord Dartmouth to send him the Special marks of His favor and his Invitation to set off for England as soon as possible that he may receive him Into his Royal Presence as the Governer Hutchinson told me with his own mouth, and a Grate Deal besides he Disclosed to me Which I Cant Let you know by Letter.

The Ship fell Down to the Castle yesterday in which the Governer takes his Passage for England with one Son and one Daughter having one Son there alredy as he told me himselfe C.P.

For my Dear and Well beloved Son Charles Phelps in Hadley

Wishing all Happiness and the Enjoyment of Every Domestick Blessing in that Peacefull family Where He Exhibits that filial affection so Much to His Kind Mothers Satisfaction.

II

To the Honorable Council of the State of Massachusetts Bay

Having the fore part of June Last Set out upon my Intended Journey to Boston but being taken Ill upon the Road unable to proceed wrote Largely upon the Important Subject of my Intended theem when I should arive and Sent It by a young Gent^a Who promised me he woud faithfully

¹ H. C. 1743.

² Hutchinson left June 1, 1774: cf. our Publications, xvii. 86 note 2; T. Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, i. 152. This portion of the letter 'must have been written June 2.

Deliver it to the Honorable Artemas Ward Esqr with his own Hand. Since which I have had no Intelligence thereof nor of anything being done in Consequence of it; living so far in the Inland woods from Roads Leading to Boston But Mr John Clark rides post from Boston to Northfield weekly therefore should be Glad to have the Secretary ¹ or one of His Clerks send me Intelligence of what acceptance those matters had with the Honorable Board if any & whether any thing has been Done upon them Petitions by Either House of the Honorable Legislature and send it by Mr Clark to my son Charles Phelps at Hadley as he passeth through that town Every week.

And if there has no notice been taken thereof by the Legislature I should be Glad to know that also. however I Shall think it very Strange that matters of So much Importance of such vast Consequence to Government in General as well as what Grately affects so many respectable Petitioners many of whom are Gentⁿ of fortune Honor & Influence at Court that the Court Can Suffer the Intrest of their Constituants of So much Worth to the whole Government to Lye so Long unnoticed & wholly neglected after so many pressing motives to Induce the Legislature to take it Into their most Serious Consideration & publish Some resolves that the world may know it is an object they Intend In proper time to obtain the acquisition of however Long it has Lain in the ashes of ministerial opposition formerly & now Lies under the obstruction of hot Bloody & all Distressing Civil Wars since those in such Struggles for part of the object by Vermont & New York State for it will be almost an unpardonable Crime in me to Suffer the Intrest of so many Hundreds of my worthy & most respectable Constituents neglected when they all view it of such a benefit to Government also to have their affairs soon brought upon the Carpet by me therefore I beg I may receive Intelligence hereof by Mr Secretary Avery or his Clerk — by the means above mentioned which is the safest I know of.

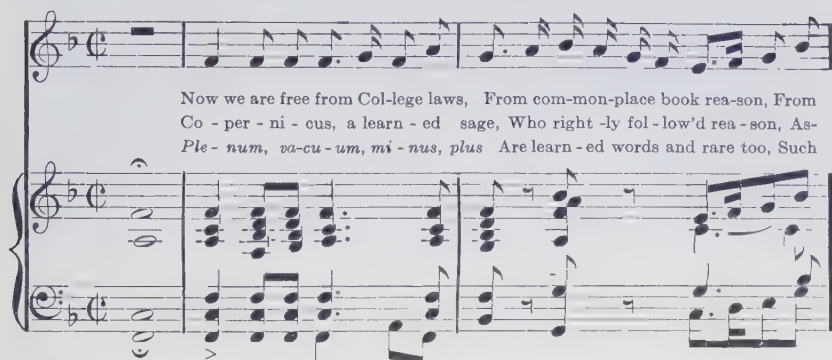
To Close shall beg Leave ondy to Sugest that as the Struggles between New York State and Vermont riseth higer and higer very fast Governor Clinton has Sent an Express Lately to Congress of those matters of Disturbances & Information of Vermont upon his Subjects & y^r property Living on the 50 townships &c in Consequence whereof Congress Sent a Committee up at Bennington to Inquire Into the truth of facts between the two Contending parties & report to Congress what they find for an adjudication Decisive respecting Vermont at Least as we all Soposed and as those matters would naturally open to a Sceen of Impor-

¹ John Avery (1739-1806; H. C. 1759).

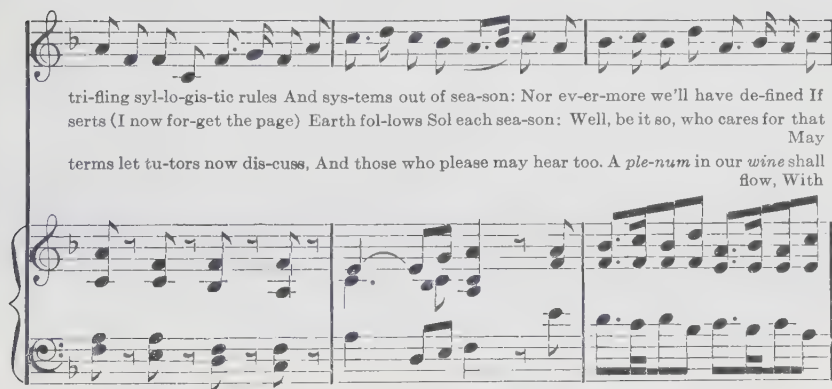
tant transaction which might very much affect the rights of Massachusetts to those 50 townships which Covers near 50 miles of County north & Southrd. the one halfe of the bredth of the Bay State; and Consequently must necessarily affect their Intrest & right of Soil beyond New York State west; the very Lands reffrd to in that Important Petition I sent Last June to Boston affore sd it was thought necessary for me to attend that Committee of Congress at Bennington in respect to my Constituants Rights &c as well as the Rights of the Bay thereto Least something Disadvantageous to my Constituants &c might Ensue relative to matters of Such vast Importance & Delicacy which my Constituants Expect I Should be always upon my watch & guard in the premises in their behalfe and accordingly exerted by a watchful policy of a neglect in my selfe if I should omit I gave the Committee of Congress an account of what my Constituants had done both relative to the 50 townships & those Lands west of New York State and the incontrovertable rights of the Bay State to the same as fully as I was able as far as was pertinent on that occation of their coming &c And as matters then opening between the portion of New York & Vermont rendered it necessary that the Committee might Know the Ingratitude & Baseness of Vermont officers &c in favor of New York & how Inconsistant they were to Justice and the rights of 2 States and their Treasonable Information & premeditated Conspiracies against their alleigence to New York authority and Government & Contrary to resolves of Continental Congress &c But Some Disturbances having Since fallen out between the two Contending Governments officers & subjects of New York State & Vermont which made it Necessary for the County Convention under New York authority to meet and they having so met Determined to send an agent for the County of Cumberland to Lay open their Abuses from Vermont before the Legislature of New York State and by their Joynt Assistance with the County; Petition Congress by sd agent, to resolve against Vermonts faction any Longer to exist or their obstruction of the authority of New York State and that Vermont Should no Longer be Suffered to Exist to the perpetual vexation of the People and that the authority of New York be in full Erected without any Controul from Vermont &c And altho in the room of a better I being appointed their agent yet I shant have it in my Province or within the Duty of my agency to Say anything of the right of the Bay &c because the Bay in their Legislative Capacity put in no Claim Either to Jurisdiction or Soil & if they Did it would be a matter very Different in its Nature & operation to what I are to solicit which is that New York States authority be Exercised free of any molestation from Vermont throughout that District of Country as it was at

EARLY HARVARD SONG

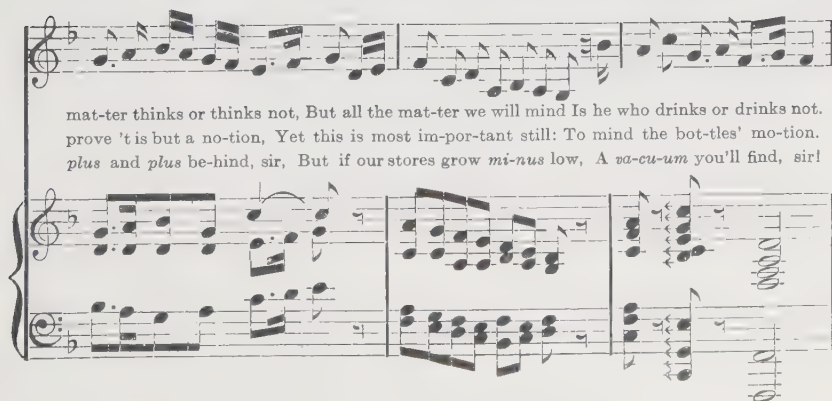
TUNE — *Maggie Lauder*



Now we are free from Col-lege laws, From com-mon-place book rea-son, From
Co - per - ni - cus, a learn - ed sage, Who right - ly fol - low'd rea - son, As-
Ple - num, va - cu - um, mi - nus, plus Are learn - ed words and rare too, Such



tri-fling syl-lo-gis-tic rules And sys-tems out of sea-son: Nor ev-er-more we'll have de-fined If
serts (I now for-get the page) Earth fol-lows Sol each sea-son: Well, be it so, who cares for that
May
terms let tu-tors now dis-cuss, And those who please may hear too. A *ple-num* in our *wine* shall
flow, With



mat-ter thinks or thinks not, But all the mat-ter we will mind Is he who drinks or drinks not.
prove 't is but a no-tion, Yet this is most im-por-tant still: To mind the bot-tles' mo-tion.
plus and *plus* be-hind, sir, But if our stores grow *mi-nus* low, A *va-cu-um* you'll find, sir!

the Commencement of this War or at the Declaration of Independance & because we all Conclude Congress wont Enter into the Consideration of the Disputes that may arise about the Limmits or Jurisdiction of Different States whilst it is not settled whether the Independance & Sovereignty of the united States of America be admitted by Grate Britan & so long as they maintain the Hottest war against america for our setting up Independance & Sovereignty against Brittan. But nevertheless I are of the opinion & beg Leave again herewith to offer it that it is perfectly Consistant with the Justice prudence & wisdom of the massachusetts Honorable Legislature to resolve their aincient and Continued Claim be Sent to Congress Respecting the 50 townships & their western territory as Soon as possible if it is not Done Conform to those Petitions herein before mentioned sent Last June to Court as I trust they were Delivered to Councillor Ward ¹ however all must be submitted to the wisdom of the Standing Guardians of the State to whom of Right those Important matters belong therefore to conclude my address beg leave of assuming the honour of Subscribing my Selfe your Honours
much obliged & most Humble Servant at Com^d]

CHARLES PHELPS.

July 28th 1779

To the Honorable Council of State in Boston.

Mr. MORISON also communicated an early Harvard song, taken from one of Mr. Eliot's commonplace-books. "Before commencement," wrote Mr. Eliot, "when the senior class bid adieu to Harvard University, it used to be customary for them to dine together in public, after having a valedictory oration;² and the following song was annually for many years sung in full chorus — viz."

Tune Maggie Lauder

Now we are free from college laws,
From *commonplace* book reason
From trifling Syllogistic rules
And systems out of season;

¹ Artemas Ward (1727-1800).

² For a brief account of "The Beginnings of Class Day," from which it appears that "before 1750 we find class officers, a class oration, a class dinner, and a baccalaureate sermon," see the Harvard Graduates' Magazine for June, 1914, xxii. 580-581. The earliest known class dinner took place on May 1, 1764. Mr. Kirtledge points out that this song is merely an adaptation of George Alexander

Nor evermore we'll have defined
 If matter thinks or thinks not —
 But all the matter we will mind
 Is he who drinks or drinks not.

Copernicus, a learned sage
 Who rightly followed reason
 Asserts (I now forget the page)
 Earth follows Sol each season
 Well, be it so, who cares for that
 May prove 'tis but a notion,
 Yet this is most important still,
 To mind the bottles' motion.

Plenum, *vacuum*, *minus*, *plus*
 Are learned words and rare too,
 Such terms let Tutors now discuss,
 And those who please may hear too.
 A *plenum* in our *wine* shall flow
 With *plus* and *plus* behind Sir,
 But if our stores grow *minus* low
 A *vacuum* you'll soon find, Sir.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES exhibited the second volume of the Rev. John Pointer's Chronological History of England, published at Oxford in 1714, which once belonged to Thomas Prince and bears his autograph as well as the book-plate of the New England Library. It also contains some manuscript notes¹ by Prince, and apparently was the book which suggested to him the format of his own book entitled Annals of New England, which is almost an exact copy of Pointer's volumes.

Stevens's "Nunc est Bibendum:" see his Poems, Comic, and Satyrical (Oxford, 1772), pp. 16-18.

¹ The autograph reads: "T. Prince. Boston. July 12. 1731." Of Prince's notes, only one need be copied. Under date of August 1, 1714, Pointer says: "Died Queen ANNE of blessed Memory, . . . One of the Best of Queens that ever sat upon the *British*, or any other, Throne, whether we consider Her Exemplary Piety towards God, Her extensive Liberality to the Church, or her unparalleled'd Conduct in the State" (ii. 764-765). In the margin is this comment: "Most foolish, stupid, mad & wretched conduct for y^e 4 last years of her Reign."

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS communicated the following paper, written by Mr. Clifford B. Clapp of the Henry E. Huntington Library of San Gabriel, California:

CHRISTO ET ECCLESIAE

I

If the unquestionable dignity of a device borne by Harvard College for two and a quarter centuries could yet be enhanced, it would become our duty to bear such testimony of its age and honorable connections as could be given from late researches. For many years it has been assumed that the motto "Christo et Ecclesiae" was adopted about 1690 to 1694, during the presidency of Increase Mather, as part of the effort to preserve the power of the established Congregational Church. This is mere conjecture, the meagre records affording no proof.¹ Whatever may be the truth on this point, there has been stated merely a possible occasion for the adoption of the motto, but not a source from which it was derived. Investigation has apparently not heretofore been carried further back.

It is now possible to state that whatever inspiration the sons of Harvard have drawn from her dedication "to Christ and the Church" they undoubtedly owe in some measure to the influence of an earlier university, which adopted "Christo et Ecclesiae" at its foundation about a hundred years earlier than Harvard adopted it. They undoubtedly owe it in some measure to a great teacher who never heard of Harvard, but who was a strong guide for some of her pioneers, who never saw New England (although his heart was with her), but whose children's children have formed influential branches of our population from Harvard's earliest days to the present time.

To the Academy of Franeker, the second Dutch university, founded in 1585, and to the influence of Dr. William Ames, Harvard owes her motto. For truth she must in any case stand, and for the reiteration

¹ The only safe assertion at the present time, according to Mr. Matthews, is that the statements on this matter made by President Quincy (*History of Harvard University*, i. 23, 48, 49 and note, 474, 612), upon which reliance has hitherto been placed, are untrustworthy, and his references to records incomplete and inadequate.

of "Veritas" with "Christo et Ecclesiae" we must be thankful; for Christ and the Church she chose to stand, and there has never been cause to regret it.¹ It is strange that no notice has ever been taken at Harvard of the connection with Franeker and Dr. Ames.²

The University of Franeker was founded in 1585 by the Estates of Friesland, a province of the Netherlands in the extreme north between the Zuider Zee and the North Sea. As soon as the University or Academy was established, the Stadtholder and Deputies brought it to public notice by issuing a proclamation, or "Programma" as it was called, beginning, "Guilielmus Ludovicus Comes Nassaviæ . . . Salutem," and dated at the end "Franekeræ MDLXXXV. xv. Iulij." This proclamation stated the purposes and method of the University. In the course of it occurs a statement, memorable for Harvard College, as follows:

. . . ad quem; & hoc Programme discipulos euocare & elicere volumus, ut huc se lubentes sistant: & studia Vtrorumque, cœptaque Nostra, quæ vno Academiæ complectemur nomine, cum solenni Nominis Divini Invocatione, piaque cerimonia, non Palladi aut Musis, sed Christo & Ecclesiæ publicè dedicabimus.³

¹ The seal is thus interpreted by President Charles F. Thwing: "But apart from specific results the College stood in the community as a monument to the worth of mind. Its seal set forth the ultimate value of truth, a value which a new and a democratic community is in grave peril of forgetting. Its seal also declared 'Christo et Ecclesiae,' an ideal which a society obliged daily to toil for daily bread is liable to lose. The college, therefore, represented the continuity of learning and the preciousness of the scholastic and educational tradition. It embodied the supremacy of character as the purpose of spiritual idealism. It stood for life and not for living. It embodied the old cardinal virtues of justice, temperance, and fortitude, and the new cardinal virtues of hope, faith and charity" (History of Higher Education in America, 1906, p. 47).

² The coincidence of the mottoes of Franeker and Harvard was first noticed, in modern days, by the Rev. Dr. William Fairfield Warren, President Emeritus of Boston University, when in 1858 he was preparing the material for his book, "In the Footsteps of Arminius." President Warren placed the motto on the verso of the title-page of the Boston University Year Book in 1874 and thereafter for more than thirty years, crediting it to its source in the Franeker Program, confident, as he says in a recent letter, "that the discovery would be pleasing to the authorities of Harvard, and to all lovers of intercollegiate fellowship in good traditions." The present writer arrived at his knowledge and theory independently.

³ This "Programma" is given in W. B. S. Boeles, Frieslands Hoogeschool en het Rijks Athenaeum te Franeker (1878-1879), i. 431-434, after a copy of the original in the Academy archives which was badly printed by Schotanus ("dat



I VNC FVIT IMBELLES PIETAS HEIC FIGERE NVS ASCESSERVNT TVNC ARMA TOGA POST HOSTE
 CVM FERVS AD PORTAM IAM RESIDERET IBER INVIDIEM PATRIA LUXVRIANT ET VLIT. PV

P.W.

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
 from W. B. L. Boeles, Triestlands Hogeschool
 en het Rijks Athenaeum te Franeker, 1878, i. 384

That "Christo et Ecclesiae" was a solemnly adopted motto and not a mere ejaculation of the Frisian Deputies is proved by its insertion in the Statutes of the Academy, the "Statvta Academiæ Franequerensis," dated at the end, "Franequeræ Frisiorum, tertio Calendas Aprileis, ANNO CIC IC LXXXVI." Lex I of the "Statvta" reads:

LITERIS ET PIETATI ACADEMIA publica CHRISTO Ecclesiæque dicata
Franequeræ Frisiorum publice adaptata in usum patriæ exterorumque
esto.¹

Nor was the dedication allowed to stand in printed documents only; it was also placed above the chief portal of the building. The city plan of Franeke as it existed in 1664² shows the Academy to be in the southwest part of the city, near the "Wester" or "Harlinger Poort," fronting westerly on the Vijverstraat. This street apparently got its name from the pond or artificial body of water surrounding the Castle on the west side of the city and adjacent to the moat encircling the whole city. A view made of the picturesque buildings as they were in 1622,³ when outwardly little changed from their condition in 1584, shows a court or area planted with trees, surrounded by the Academy buildings on the east, south, and west, with a church, formerly the "gasthuiskerk" or "hospital church,"⁴ at the left or north. The building at the east, behind the area, contained the library, "collegiekamer," etc.⁵ Against the church and opening on the area was a north gallery; to the right or south was a south gallery and rooms devoted to administration; and along the Vijver-

o. a. bij Schotanus zeer slordig is gedrukt"): cf. i.15 note 2. It is also given in Benthem's *Hollaendischer Kirch- und Schulen-Staat* (1698), pp. 18-25. There are variations between the two versions. The passage quoted is from Boeles, i.433; Benthem, p. 24. Boeles has "ad quem; & hoc;" Benthem, "ad quem & hoc." Boeles has "quæ vno Academiæ complectemur nomine;" Benthem, "quæ uno Academiæ nomine complectimur." There is a copy of Boeles's work in the Boston Public Library.

¹ The Statutes are given in Boeles, i. 435-445.

² This plan is reproduced as a frontispiece to Boeles's first volume.

³ This view is reproduced in Boeles, i. 384, from which the illustration facing page 60 is taken.

⁴ The name is apparently a relic of the former use of the buildings as a home for the aged and infirm (see Boeles, i. 399); cf. *Oxford English Dictionary*, under "hospital."

⁵ Boeles (i. 397-399) gives a fuller description. For "Platte Grond der gebouwen van het Athenaeum," see Boeles, i. 394.

straat front, extending from these rooms to the church, was the long low west gallery. Through this gallery there had been made a door or portal with a gable raised above the roof of the gallery. The position of this portal and the fact of its embellishment with arms and inscriptions lead to the inference that it was the chief entrance to the Academy. On this gable, or what was probably the most obvious point in the University structure, and therefore as true a proclamation to the public as that of paper and ink, appeared the dedication "Christo et Ecclesiae."¹

It thus appears that the dedicatory motto was considered by the Estates of Friesland to be of enough significance to be published in the initial proclamation of the University, in the very first of its statutes, and over its chief portal. That it was a dedication of consequence to the authorities of the institution is also to be shown.

One of the professors at the Academy was Johannes Maccovius, or Jan Makowsky as he was known in his native country, Poland, where he was born in 1588. He entered the University of Franeker in 1613 and became professor of theology there in 1615, and there he remained until his death in 1644. Of this man we read: "Theologically he was a rigid Calvinist of the extreme supralapsarian school, and theses of a corresponding character, defended in 1616 by one of his pupils, involved him in a controversy with his colleague Sibrandus Lubbertus which was settled only by the Synod of Dort in 1619."² Other authorities state that it was his scholastic method that caused the disturbance in the church.³ In 1525-1526 Maccovius was again involved in controversy, and a public indictment was drawn against him by certain of the professors at Franeker. He had embittered the life of Lubbertus, and he was not on good terms with many of his associates.⁴ But while the particular brand of Calvinistic doctrine upheld

¹ Boeles (i. 396-397), citing Vriemoet, says:

"Op die nieuwe poort waren de wapenschilden gebeiteld van Friesland, van den Stadhouder en van Franeker, voorts het symbolum *Fundamentum Dei stat firmum*, de Latijnsche tekst van Jesaja XXXI: 4, 5, en, boven in den gevel: *Christo et Ecclesiae*."

² New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge (1910), vii. 109.

³ M'Clintock and Strong, Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature (1882), v. 616; J. H. Kurtz, Text-Book of Church History (1888), ii. 214.

⁴ Visscher, p. 70; Boeles, ii. 93. Regarding Lubbertus, Professor of Theology, see Boeles, ii. 29-34.

by him was not that of the men who held the balance of power at Franeker, this was not the only charge against him; the other was an impeachment of his morality. It is natural that the theologians at that time should combine the issues of piety and morality, and charge defects of character against false doctrine. The fame that brought many students to the Academy to study under Maccovius was probably the reason for his being maintained there. But his influence with the students was considered the very worst. He was branded as a man of altogether barbaric character, whose life was nothing more nor less than continual impiety. He encouraged the students in irresponsibility, and once, when he rode with three students to Haarlingen, he drank so much strong liquor on the way that in his attempt to return to Franeker he did not realize that he had been imposed upon until he was within the gates of Bolsward.¹ The indictment or "complaint" was written by Sixtus Amama, signed by him and three other professors, and addressed to Johannes Saeckma, a prominent lawyer, and official, and one of the curators of the Academy. The signatories were all men of eminence in their profession.

The complaint was headed "Klagten over Prof. Joh. Maccovius," was dated at the end "XXII Junij 1626," and was signed "T. A. Observantissimi, Joh. Hachtingius, . . . S. Amama, . . . G. Amesius, . . . A. Verhel." After the signature of Ames appears the following: "Quamvis de omnibus & singulis non sim certus, rem ipsam tamen ex Academiae et Ecclesiae re esse confirmo." The first part of the text, being as much as is necessary to this article, is as follows:

Amplissime & Magnifice Domine, Nihil equidem illibentius facimus, quam hoc ipsum, quod odioso delationis titulo fortassis indigetabunt alij. At cum, proh dolor! nimis verum sit, quod querimur, & magis verum, quam ut a quoquam negari possit id, quod nunc in T. A. sinum evaporavimus, confidimus tuam A. nequaquam in malam partem accepturam, quod non odium privatum, non affectus ullus reprehensibilis, sed odium impietatis & egregij publici studium nobis extorsit. Christo et Ecclesiae dicata haec Academia est. Christo & Ecclesiae sacramentum dixisti vos, quibus ea cura demandata est, ne quid detrimenti capiat. Eodem sacramento nos obligamur, quibus docendi & regendi provincia delegata est. Et quod ad nos attinet, plane in ea sumus sententia, non

¹ Charge IX in the "Complaint," Boeles, i. 481; Visscher, p. 65.

satisfacere nos huic sacramento, nisi T. A. significemus rursus, quantum detrimenti res Academicæ patiantur ex eo, quod tot jam annis publico stipendio non in Professione aliqua profana, sed sacra, alatur homo moribus plane barbarus, qui id solum agit ut barbaros & profanos mores in Academiam invehat, discordias accendat, qui in omnium bonorum nomen et famam grassatur, cujus denique universa vita nihil aliud est, quam continua impietas.¹

This complaint against Maccovius, in which the dedication of the Academy to Christ and the Church was reiterated and the position of Maccovius declared inimical to the purpose implied in this dedication, is not the only evidence that the dedication was taken to heart by the leading authorities. Just before the sending of the complaint, Amesius (our Dr. Ames), one of the signers, was installed as Rector Magnificus of the Academy. His inaugural address was upon the motto "Christo et Ecclesiae," and he chose this theme particularly because of the trouble in the Academy.² After mentioning several illustrious Athenians upon whom his mind appropriately dwelt upon such an important occasion in the Academy, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Lysias, and Pericles, he said: "Ego vero altioris ordinis virum intelligo, non Atheniensium tantum, sed & omnium

¹ The "Complaint," addressed to Saeckma, is printed in Boeles, i. 479-483: see also Visscher, p. 65. For an account of Saeckma, see Boeles, ii. 5. He was probably called "Tua Amplitudo," Your Greatness, a mode of address proper for one in his position of Curator.

² This address is in Dr. Ames's *Disceptatio Scholastica de Circulo Pontificio*. A copy of the edition of Leyden, 1633, the first to contain the inaugural address, is in the Prince Collection in the Boston Public Library. From this copy, the title-page and pp. 93-95 are here reproduced in facsimile. The pamphlet consists of: Title, p. [1]; Lectori, p. [2]; Prefatio, pp. 3-6; Text, pp. 7-140. Pp. 93-107 contain the "Oratio Inauguralis."

The *Disceptatio Scholastica de Circulo Pontificio* was also published at Amsterdam in 1644. This edition, of which there is a copy in the Boston Public Library, consists of: Title, p. [1]; Lectori, p. [2]; Præfatio, pp. 3-5; Text, pp. 6-105. The Inaugural Oration is on pp. 56-64.

In the same volume with each of these editions there is bound a copy of Dr. Ames's *Rescriptio Scholastica & Brevis Ad Nic. Grevinchovii Responsum*, immediately preceding the *Disceptatio*. In the Prince volume it is dated 1634; in the other it is dated 1658. It is possible that copies of the 1644 edition of the *Disceptatio*, together with copies of other of Ames's works of various dates, were bound together in 1658 to make up the edition of his Latin works then published, and that there was no new edition of some of these as generally supposed.

GUIL. AMESII

2

Disceptatio Scholastica

DE

CIRCULO PONTIFICIO,

Et eorum omnium *dux & Antistes*,
qui in Scripturis non acquiescunt.

Item ejusdem

Disquisitiones Theologicæ,

DE

Lumine Naturæ & Gratiæ.

Præparatione peccatoris ad Conversionem.

Adoratione Christi Mediatoris.

Ac denique

ORATIONES duæ, antehac non editæ.

Quibus subiecta est

D. ESTEII Oratio, de Certitudine salutis.

—o—o—o—

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM.

Ex officina JVSTI LIVII,

cl^o l^oc XXXIII.

93

GVLIELMI AMESII

ORATIO

INAUGURALIS.

Habita Francquæ Frisiorum,

An. 1626. Cal. Iun.

Cum Rectoris Magnifici

munus ingrederetur.

QUæ duæ res in omni dictione maxime sunt spectanda, (qua de re & apud quos agendum fuerit:) illæ ambæ in foro, in iudiciis, & in similibus oratorum ditionibus, sese offerre solent & ingerere orationem aliquam habituris. Sed ex isthoc loco, istaque occasione dicturi unum illud notum certumque habent, quos habituri sint auditores: alterum eorum relinquunt iudicio vel inventioni, qua de re potissimum sint verba facturi. Hoc ita videtur, ut quasi legem sibi impositam habeant, dicendi materiam accipere ex auditorum consideratione.

Quam igitur intelligebam ex consuetu-

licitudine recepta in hac Academico-
rum vel Athenienſium illuſtri corona
hodie mihi nonnihil eſſe dicendum;
cogitare mecum cœpi, quid talibus
auribus maxime conveniret. In iſtius-
modi vero conſilio, quia eorum veſti-
gia, qui cum laude fruſtuque præve-
runt, uſiſſimum eſt quoad fieri poteſt
implere: ſubierant animum illuſtria
quædam exempla, eorum præcipue
qui Athenis claruerunt: Inter quos
unum oratorem invenio plane divi-
num, quem hodie in argumenti deſe-
ctu imitari decrevi. Nonnulli hic
fortaſſe Demotheſenem, Æſchinem,
Lyſiam, aut Periclem cogitant; ma-
gno nominis viros, & nomini respon-
dentis ingenij: eorum elogium ſunt,
*ῥῶναι τῆ δεινότητος καὶ ἰσχυροῦς
ταύτης*. Ego vero altioris ordinis vi-
rum intelligo, non Athenienſium tan-
tum, ſed & omnium gentium Docto-
rem, Apoſtolum Paulum.

Quemadmodum enim ille in Areo-
pago diſſerturus, explicandam elegit
inſcriptionem cupidam artis, cujus ti-
tulus *Ἀγλαΐῃ Θεῷ, Θεοῖς ἄγνωτο*: ſic
etiam & ego vobiscum hoc tempore
commu-

communicare decrevi, quæ mecum
ſum meditatius de inſcriptione Aca-
demiz noſtræ, *CHRISTO & EC-
CLEſIÆ*; Chriſto, non Deo quidem
ignoto; nec tamen ſatis noro. Fertur
huc animus eo magis, quod inſcriptio-
nem ipſam neglectam, obſcuratam &
ſemidelectam obſervem, quod quidem
ſi caſu ab operarius barbarus factum
ſit, renovationem aliquam poſtulat: ſi
vero imbrobo conſilio factum appa-
reret, piaculo magno expiari deberet,
notari utrunque juvat, & quaſi malum
omen omnibus votis averſi.

Lex eſt iſtiusmodi Symbolorum ut
multa contineant paucis, quam hic
obſervatam fuiſſe, ut omnes intelli-
gant, quot & quanta res ſint, quarum
paucula iſtæ voces ſunt gravidæ, co-
ordine quo ſele offerunt declarare co-
nabor.

Ante omnia vero memoranda ſi-
mul & ſuſpicanda occurrunt pietas co-
rum, qui Academiz conditores & in-
ſcriptionis huius authores fuerunt.
Philophi (quos Hieronymus *animales
gloria & populari aura maſcupia* vocitare
ſolebat) iſis ipſis quos advertuſinanem
gloriam ſcribebant, libris, dum no-
mina

gentium Doctorem, Apostolum Paulum." And then he went on to the beginning of his subject, in these important words:

Quemadmodum enim ille in Areopago dicturus, explicandam elegit inscriptionem cujusdam aræ, cujus titulus Ἀγῶσι Θεῷ, *Deo ignoto*: sic etiam & ego vobiscum hoc tempore communicare decrevi, quæ mecum sum meditatus de inscriptione Academiæ nostræ, CHRISTO & ECCLESIAE; Christo, non Deo quidem ignoto; nec tamen satis noto. Fertur huc animus eo magis, quod inscriptionem ipsam neglectam, obscuratam & semideletam observem, quod quidem si casu ab operarius barbaris factum sit, renovationem aliquam postulat: si vero imbrobo consilio factum appareret, piaculo magno expiari deberet, notari utrunque juvat, & quasi malum omen omnibus votis averti.¹

And, later in the same oration, with intensity of feeling he brought forth words almost of invective, when he declared that, with affairs as they were, the Academy would stand dedicated, not to Christ and the Church, but to Bacchus and the Bacchantes. Maccovius was suspended for three years from his position in the Academic Senate.²

It thus appears that "Christo et Ecclesiae" was used in a measure as a spiritual and moral trumpet call by the party at Franeker which may be supposed to have held or represented the equilibrium at that time, and in particular by William Ames, when Rector Magnificus of the institution, a man for whom devotion to an ideal meant a conscientious life of action in keeping therewith. And now, to recapitulate, the motto was by five different methods published to the world during the first half century of the existence of the Academy or University of Franeker: in its preliminary announcement; in its first law of government; above its chief portal; in a controversial document drawn up by some of its most important professors; and in the inaugural address of one of its most famous authorities. Should it not therefore have come to the notice of Harvard College, founded soon after the events last detailed by men immersed in the knowledge of the religious action of those times and particularly interested in the

¹ *Disceptatio Scholastica* (1633), pp. 94-95.

² Regarding Maccovius, see New Schaff-Herzog, vii. 109; Boeles, ii. 90-94; Visscher, 64-71. The Henry E. Huntington Library has a list, furnished by the Library of Congress, of references to Maccovius other than those cited by Schaff-Herzog.

Netherlands because so many had been compelled to go there from England?¹

II

Nevertheless, is it safe to assume that the true origin of the motto has been discovered here in this Dutch university, or even that there was any one single origin? Was not the spirit of the Crusaders that of warfare for Christ and the Church? Was not an ideal of the theologians of the seventeenth century and an idea commonly dwelt upon by synods and writers, and above all a very natural sentiment, that of devotion to Christ and the Church? It seems almost unnecessary to declare the truth of this. But, even if such be shown to be the case, it cannot be held to detract from the significance of the crystallization of the ideal into a motto, and of a special source from which that ideal, so crystallized as it is shown to have been, was taken for adoption by Harvard College. It does not seem necessary to discuss at any length the reasons for adopting the motto. The inspiration to be drawn from it, the sentiment attached to it, must have been more compelling than anything having to do with the politics of church or state. Massachusetts people needed no motto to strengthen their resolution in opposition to the royal control of Charles and James; nor could they have expected to use the motto as a compliment to William III. The declaration for Christ and the Church, with the emphasis on the first part of the motto, might have been considered the proper protestation against Church of England presumption. But probably *Ecclesia*, in the last part of the motto, attained recognition in the seal as an expression of the broad catholic devotion of liberal minds, since *Ecclesia* was the universal or truly catholic church, the word having signified the church from the days of the primitive Christian congregations in Greece.² Tradition, whether embodied in the "*Ecclesia*" of sixteen centuries or in the "*Christo et Ecclesiae*" of one century, must have sufficiently influ-

¹ "As the Puritan divines of New England were earnest Calvinists, they were in closer touch with the great teachers at Franeker and Leyden than with any equal contemporary group in Oxford and Cambridge, Eng. . . . There could hardly fail to come [to Harvard College] letters or pamphlets bearing the Franeker University seal, with its motto '*Christo et Ecclesiae*.'" (Letter of Rev. Dr. W. F. Warren to Mr. Matthews, April 1, 1921).

² Oxford English Dictionary; Rev. Robert Shaw, *Exposition of the Confession of Faith of the Westminster Assembly of Divines* (1846), pp. 284, 286-287.

enced those of the sterner school, the Mathers and others, with their pride of intellect as well as their devotion to maintenance of the sacerdotal type of church; the more so since the later tradition was associated with a man trebly revered as a great name in the church, an associate dearly loved by the fathers, and the stock from which had sprung two strong branches flourishing as preachers in New England.

As for a direct motive, it may have existed in some attempt toward the reformation of manners in the college, some movement for more sobriety and piety among the students, in full remembrance that the Franeker dedication was a heart-felt concern of William Ames and his friends, and that it was used by them almost by way of a slogan, in what they considered a moral emergency.

In spite of the fact that search has been made without avail for another important source for the motto,¹ such another one may at any time be pointed out, for it would be surprising if Franeker only among institutions should carry it. It is to be regretted therefore that there have not as yet been produced any letters between Franeker and Harvard, or any paragraph of a seventeenth century diarist, or even an assertion by Cotton Mather, to back up the Franeker origin. It is believed, nevertheless, that the facts to be adduced in place of the desirable documentation do in truth afford ground for a reasonable inference that Harvard owes "Christo et Ecclesiae" to the Academy of Franeker, and that the channel through which the motto was transmitted was the peculiarly intimate personal and intellectual repute of Dr. William Ames.

¹ In the theological literature of the seventeenth century the exact combination of words under discussion is not merely rare; it is almost impossible to find, either in Latin or in English. Nor is it easy to find in book titles, two examples only having come to the writer's notice out of any period: one, a part of a title of a work in manuscript by Matthew Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter (died 1629); the other very recent. The motto has not been found in an examination of the following standard works, in which personal and corporate mottoes are recorded: W. S. W. Anson, *Mottoes & Badges*; Chassant & Tausin, *Dictionnaire des Devises*; C. N. Elvin, *Handbook of Mottoes*; Fairbairn, *Crests*; A. C. Fox-Davies, *Book of Public Arms*; Mrs. Bury Palliser, *Historic Devices, Badges, and War-Cries*. The nearest that have been found are: *Pro Christo, Ecclesia et Grege* (François Grolleau, Evêque d'Evreux); *Pro Deo et Ecclesia* (Bishop de Parham). In this examination the mottoes of the English universities and colleges have been seen, but not all of the Continental.

III

The Academy at Franeker grew out of two movements working together: (1) that toward higher education of youth, through an extension of the teaching provided at the cost of the state,¹ and (2) that toward better education of the ministers of the Reformed church. The foundation of some sort of university at Franeker appears to have been contemplated by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, in the early years of the sixteenth century, and the prestige of this plan and its documentary (if unfulfilled) promise had some actual connection with the choice of Franeker as the seat of the Academy or University when freedom from the Spanish power made it practicable to establish it in the manner suitable to Dutch ideals.²

Largely through the influence of Jelle Hotzes van Sneek, better known under the name of Gellius Snecanus, definite steps were taken in a request of the provincial synod at Franeker in May, 1583, and a resolution of the Estates in April, 1584, to provide a seminary or college. Credit for advancing the plan is due to Snecanus and his friend the Deputy Elardus Reinalda, together with Henricus Schotanus, who had been corrector for Plantijn. Schotanus was instrumental in turning the objective of the Deputies from a mere theological seminary to a university. In October, 1584, the Deputies provided definite means, in the appropriating of old convent properties for the contemplated use. The interest of the new Stadtholder, Willem Lodewijk, in the institution gave added assurance of success, and on the 15th of July, 1585, the proclamation (programma or plakkaat) was issued formally announcing this second Dutch university, founded only a little later than that at Leyden. We have seen something of the spirit endeavored in this first announcement. With professorships of Theology, Law, Medicine, Languages, and Philosophy, the institution was formally opened on the 29th of July, 1585.³ While providing fully the means for intellectual education, stress was laid on moral education; and moral education comprehended as much doctrinal as it did ethical standards, the two going

¹ According to W. E. Griffis, all the Dutch universities grew out of the public school system, whence the name "Hoogeschool" (Nation, October 14, 1909, lxxxix. 350-351).

² Boeles, i. 1-23.

³ i. 15.

hand in hand according to the ideas of that period. Lex VIII of the Statutes stipulates consent to that religion "cujus summa Catechesi Heidelbergensis Belgicæque Ecclesiarum & confessione Belgicæ Ecclesiæ comprehensa est."¹ The Heidelberg Catechism was drawn up principally at the instigation of Frederick III, Elector Palatine of the Rhine. It was welcomed by all but Catholics and extreme Lutherans, was translated into many languages, and became the doctrinal standard of the greater part of the Protestant Church; in the Netherlands conditions were favorable for its reception, and it was adopted at repeated synods. Indorsed at the Synod of Dort, it influenced the Westminster Assembly of Divines. The famous synod convened at Dort or Dordrecht in Holland by the authority of the Estates General November 13, 1618, lasted until May 9, 1619. It consisted of pastors, elders, and theological professors of Holland and deputies from England, Scotland, Switzerland, and parts of Germany. "The Canons of this Synod were received by all the Reformed churches as a true, accurate and eminently authoritative exhibition of the Calvinistic System of Theology."² It was thus as a stronghold of Reformed church theology, of religious thought, that Franeker stood before the divines of Holland, and it must have been so to our New England forefathers.

It would be interesting, but it is not necessary or possible here, to go deeper and further into the history of Franeker. The very interesting and valuable work by W. B. S. Boeles,³ without which the present writer must have left this argument lacking some most important details, gives the story of that university until its dissolution in 1811 by Napoleon, and of its successor the Athenaeum at Franeker until its end in 1843. Boeles lists most fully the sources from which the events of that history may be extracted, and among those sources there are some that merit most careful investigation by the scholars of New England, the authorities of Harvard, and the friends of Dr. William Ames.⁴ The buildings of the institution,

¹ Boeles, i. 436.

² Rev. Archibald A. Hodge, *Commentary on the Confession of Faith* (1869), p. 28.

³ See p. 60 note 3, above.

⁴ Boeles, vol. i. pp. xiii-xviii, "Ongedrukte Bronnen" (unprinted sources), consisting of a mass of documents and correspondence in the provincial archives at Leeuwarden, the record office of the court of justice at Leeuwarden, the Town

previous to its foundation, were occupied by a convent and by a hospital or home for the aged and infirm, and after the Athenæum's expiration in 1843 were given up to an asylum for the insane;¹ the whole career of the group being devoted to humanity;² but what their present state is, the writer of this paper is not informed.

IV

Dr. Ames is so well known³ to students of New England history, that it is necessary here only to remind ourselves of the steady development of his influence during his life and to recall a few outstanding facts of his career. He was born in 1576. Among his friends at the University of Cambridge were William Bradshaw, Robert Parker, Daniel Rogers, and John Wilson. His persecution in England and in his Dutch refuge, his debate with Grevinchovius, his association with Hugh Goodyear, the chaplaincy at the Hague, his official advisorship of the Synod at Dort, and his position as successor to Hommius at the school at Leyden, will be remembered. In 1622 he became professor of theology in the University of Franeker, and at the same time was made Doctor of Theology. His fame attracted many students to Franeker. He became Rector Magnificus in 1626. Although poor health drove him and American friends called him, he continued at Franeker until 1633, when he entered that congenial relationship with Hugh Peters and Thomas Hooker at the church in Rotterdam. But at Rotterdam he died, probably November 11th,

Hall at Franeker, etc. [Nos. 27-28 in Boeles's list are collections of letters to or from Franeker professors, noted as in the "archief Gabbema" in the keeping of the "Friesch Genootschap," and in the possession of "Mr. C. Baron van Breugel Douglas, te 's Hage." Among the latter are letters referred to as concerning William Ames. The furniture of the Senate chamber was in 1845 taken for use in the Franeker council chamber; the portraits for the walls of the same building, the Town Hall (Boeles, i. 399).

¹ Boeles, i. 399.

² i. 400, quoting Mr. A. Telting.

³ See *Guilielmi Amesii . . . Opera . . . Cum Præfatione introductoria Mathiæ Netheni* (1658); Hugo Visscher, *Guilielmus Amesius: Zijn Leven en Werken* (1894); Nicéron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Hommes Illustrés*, xxxvii. 273-286. Among the biographical dictionaries, see in particular Kippis's *Biographia Britannica*, the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (eleventh edition). Also cf. Professor Kittredge's "Note on Dr. William Ames," in *Publications of this Society*, xiii. 60-69.

1633, in his 57th year.¹ He died in the arms of Hugh Peters, and Peters preached his funeral sermon. He is said to have been buried at Rotterdam, November 14th, 1633. But we are not told where his tomb is, and how tended.²

As so often has happened with a great man, when there seemed to be something yet lacking to round out his living career, his influence dead was perpetuated many years through his family, friends, and writings.

There can be no attempt here to mention all the works of Ames, nor to expound any of them. More abiding in their influence than the rest were the Marrow of Sacred Divinity, the Cases of Conscience, the Coronis, and the Fresh Suit against Human Ceremonies. The latter book is said to have made Richard Baxter a Nonconformist. The Cases of Conscience, which has been called Dr. Ames's best known work, is the fruit of his labors in the field of Ethics, and shows the reason for his being called a "casuist." He, perhaps first among Protestants, had adopted a method used in the Catholic Church for inculcating the right relationships of motive and action in life. The Cases lived at least a century as a work considered of great value to students. The Coronis ad Collationem Hagiensem, which carries the burden of the theological arguments made by Ames during his earlier years in Holland, was prepared primarily for the Synod of Dort and figured largely in Dutch church history. It has been called his most masterly book. The Marrow of Sacred Divinity, written for Dr. Ames's students at Leyden, was intended to present the essence or epitome of Reformed church doctrine. As the

¹ Nethenus; Visscher, pp. 76-77. The date is usually given November 1, which was undoubtedly Old Style. J. Browne quotes from Quick: "He died in ye year 1633, and in ye 57th of his age the Lord translated him from ye church militant unto ye church triumphant. He was a man of a robust body, of a good and strong constitution. He was of middle stature, a quick and ready wit, of a most accurate and exact judgment, rare and exquisite learning, eloquent as the Spartans, not as ye Asiaticks, singularly pious towards God, and truely charitable towards his neighbors" (History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk, p. 69 note).

² Increase Mather wrote: "Dr Amess Tomb might have had yt Inscriptⁿ on it, w^{ch} Scipio by his will appointed to be His, Ingrata patria ne ossa mea quidem habes" (Diary, in 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xiii. 339). See also the Latin verses by Reinerus Neuhausius headed "Tumulo Reverendi et Clarissimi Viri D. Guilielmi Amesii. S. S. Theol. D. et Profess." (Quoted by Visscher, p. 217.)

Medulla S. S. Theologiae it was printed probably first in 1623, then in 1627, and several times later. In 1642 or 1643 the first English translation appeared, printed by order of the House of Commons, probably for the use of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. It was during a decade when several of the works of Ames were put on the market, thus indicating a demand by the controversialists of that period.¹ An interesting presumption, involving a proof of the influence of Ames, is that, even though there had been other "Marrows," this translation entitled *The Marrow of Sacred Divinity* was responsible for the seven or more similar titles following it within ten years.²

V

It is well known that the family of Dr. Ames emigrated to America and were in difficult circumstances, receiving aid both in Holland and in Massachusetts through the influence of Hugh Peters.³ A mystery exists regarding the disposition of the learned doctor's library, at that time a valuable one to theological readers. This library would have cost him a considerable sum,⁴ perhaps more than he could afford, and it must have been with the purpose of providing funds for his widow and children that it was catalogued, as if to be sold, at Rotterdam in 1634.⁵ Whether it was sold, or whether it was

¹ Several of these works will be found in the Stationers' Registers.

² *The Marrow of Christianity*; *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*; *The Marrow of Many Good Authours*; *The Marrow of Divinity*; *The Marrow of Ecclesiastical Historie*; *The Marrow of the Bible*; and the *Medulla Theologiae Moralis*. Two of these are themselves famous books. All were printed after *The Marrow of Sacred Divinity*.

³ Peters wrote almost immediately after the death of Dr. Ames to the city of Rotterdam asking aid for the widow. He secured the publication of Ames's *Lectiones in CL Psalmos Davidis* and dedicated it to the city, which on April 29, 1635, paid Mrs. Ames 200 gulden for it. (Visscher, p. 78.)

⁴ There were about 570 titles in the library. Allowing for copies of his own works and of those of his friends, we may suppose him to have purchased over 500 works. He presented some books to the library of the Academy at Franeker. (*Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Publicae quae est in Academia Franekeranae*, ed. A. Savoie, 1713, pp. 10, 58). He probably gave copies of his own works to his associates.

⁵ *Catalogvs Variorum & insignium Librorvm Clariss. & celeberrimi viri D. Gvilielmi Amesii SS. Theologiae Doctoris, & Professoris olim in illust. Acad. Franekerana. Amstelodami. MDCXXXIV.*

brought to New England as has so often been stated, is unknown.¹

Dr. Ames's daughter Ruth was sought in marriage by Hugh Peters,² but was married instead to Edmund Angier, merchant, of Cambridge, Massachusetts. From this couple sprang some notable lines of descendants. A daughter, Ruth, married Samuel Cheever,³ son of Ezekiel Cheever and minister at Marblehead. A son, the Rev. Samuel Angier,⁴ we shall speak of later. He had several children, among them Sarah, who married the Rev. John Shaw⁵ of Bridgewater, whose grandson Lemuel Shaw⁶ was for thirty years Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. A son of Samuel Angier, John,⁷ for half a century minister at East Bridgewater, married Mary Bourne, and their daughter Mary married in 1767 the Rev. Ephraim Hyde⁸ of Rehoboth. This union will be mentioned again. Oakes Angier, son of the Rev. John Angier and brother of Mrs. Hyde, married Susannah Howard, and their daughter Susanna married Oliver Ames of North Easton, from whom have descended Oakes Ames,⁹ Governor Oliver Ames, Frederick Lothrop Ames,¹⁰ and the late F. Lothrop Ames¹¹ the donor to the Harvard Club of the portrait of Dr. William Ames.

The history of Dr. Ames's family forms a tie between Ames himself and the present generation, and his immediate descendants likewise

¹ The statement that the library was brought to New England has been repeated by a dozen or more authors, early and late. Increase Mather wrote in 1695 in his preface to *Johannes in Eremo* (Magnalia, 1855, i. 245-246): "Long before that, Dr. Ames (whose family and whose library New-England has had) was upon the wing for this American desert." Cotton Mather (Magnalia, i. 236) said of Ames: "but he was hindred by that Providence which afterwards permitted his *widow*, his *children*, and his *library*, to be translated hither." Neal added the assertion that Ames's books were the first furniture of Harvard College, and from that time to the present the fact of the library's advent here has been accepted as truth. Mr. Julius H. Tuttle discussed the question in the Publications of this Society (xiv. 63-66), seeing certain reasons for crediting the statement of Neal. But there is as yet absolutely no proof that the library was brought; and such facts as we have are rather against the probability.

² The evidence regarding this practically unnoticed incident, including its relations to Peters's engagement to Deliverance Sheffield, is found in the Winthrop Papers (i. 100, ii. 199-201). Inspection of one of the manuscripts shows a misreading of a name in the printed version; the identity of Ruth Ames is clear.

³ H. C. 1659.

⁴ H. C. 1673.

⁵ H. C. 1729.

⁶ H. C. 1800.

⁷ H. C. 1720.

⁸ Yale 1759.

⁹ (1804-1873).

¹⁰ H. C. 1854.

¹¹ H. C. 1898.

linked him with the rulers of state, church, and college a half century after his death. With Angiers and Cheevers living among them, they must often think of him. But there were also men who had been in contact with Dr. Ames, some most intimately, who came to New England and exercised a pronounced influence here. Bare mention is enough of two square-pegs who failed to fit their positions: Nathaniel Eaton the first head of Harvard College, who had been a pupil of Ames;¹ and Richard Brown of Watertown, who had helped him when he went out of England into Holland.² There were, however, several strong men acting as apostles of his fame; among them Brewster, Winthrop, Peters, Hooker, Cotton, Wilson, and Parker, as well as, for a time, John Phillip. Brewster printed one, at least, of his books.³ With Governor Winthrop he was in correspondence. Thomas Parker of Ipswich and Newbury was son of Robert, who left England with Dr. William Ames and who with Ames is said to have had a pronounced influence on John Robinson.⁴ Thomas Parker became acquainted with William Ames at Leyden, where he received the degree of M.A. in 1617. The theses then defended by him are appended to some editions of Ames's answer to Grevinchovius. He became assistant to Nathaniel Ward at Agawam in 1634, and in 1635 helped to found Newbury. He had a long life, dying in 1677. John Woodbridge was his nephew. John Wilson, who lived until 1667, spoke of Ames on his death-bed; John Cotton, likewise, in 1652, and Cotton was a man of commanding eminence. Thomas Hooker, the founder of Connecticut, whom we have seen with William Ames and Hugh Peters in Rotterdam, joined with Peters and others to assist Mrs. Ames when she was in need after her settlement in New England.

Hugh Peters ought to be spoken about more at length, for he was the one man preëminently devoted to Ames. Tendering him the last measures of kindness at his death, doing all possible to do for his family in Holland and New England, yearning for a further expres-

¹ Dictionary of National Biography, vi. 337.

² Hubbard, General History of New England, p. 187.

³ Ames's *Rescriptio ad Responsum N. Grevinchovii Contracta* (1617). There is a copy in the library of the Society of Mayflower Descendants: see G. E. Bowman, in *Mayflower Descendant*, July, 1921, 99, 103, and frontispiece.

⁴ Dictionary of National Biography, xv. 270-271; Mather, *Magnalia*, i. 47; 2 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 187; B. Brook, *Lives of the Puritans*, ii. 237-239.

sion of regard denied him, prefacing more than one of Ames's works, and at his own unhappy end thinking of Ames, he must have been one of the important agents for disseminating his friend's reputation in America. He was a man of reason as well as of impulse, with abounding devotion to public welfare and abiding loyalty to his friends.

VI

The personal devotion to Dr. Ames of famous New Englanders was frequently recorded, and notably as late as 1695 by the Mathers. The fruits of his wisdom, also, were cherished, and his influence was felt to be living, not embalmed. The spiritual legacy of Ames was not soon dissipated, and he was actually, not in our theory only, present in the thoughts of Harvard leaders during the period in which the adoption of "Christo et Ecclesiae" must have occurred. If this be shown, we must believe that the inaugural address at Franeker was known, both from tradition and from his writings. It is not unreasonable to assume this, for two reasons. First, the men of the last third of the seventeenth century were no farther removed from the first third of that century than we are from the time of the Civil War, were even nearer in fact by reason of the greater simplicity of those times, and their fathers had told them, indeed Ruth Ames could have told some among them, and Thomas Parker could have told them,¹ about an event considered of some importance by Dr. Ames himself. And second, the intellectual meat and drink of those days consisted in theological reading and meditation and discussion of the spiritual side of the lives of their fathers and grandfathers, men whose lives and opinions were the foundation stones of Puritanism. Whenever two or three people got together there was a theological discussion. Samuel Sewall in his Diary in 1715 says: "In the Ferry-boat Mr. Parsons mentioned the perishing of all mankind entirely, whereas some of the Angels fell; not all, if God had not provided Salvation. Spake as if it had been his Notion: I said Dr.

¹ The theses defended by Thomas Parker were one of the causes of the trouble between Maccovius and other theologians at the Synod of Dort. Ames tried to support Maccovius, but they continually disagreed. It is probable, then, that Parker was interested in the dispute between Ames and Maccovius in 1626. Parker lived at Newbury until 1677. He was related to important men in the colony and was a teacher of Judge Sewall.

Ames mentioned it; which he seemed backward to allow: said he had lost his Books by Sea.”¹ The libraries of New England, both college and private, were chiefly theological.² Many of these libraries contained Dr. Ames’s books; but sufficient for present purposes are those of the Mathers, as given by Mr. Tuttle twelve years ago.³ The list of the books in Cotton Mather’s library shows five works by Dr. Ames, including the *Disceptatio Scholastica de Circulo Pontificio*. The copy of the latter was bound with the *Rescriptio Scholastica ad Nic. Grevinchovii Responsum*, as has always been the case with examples seen by the present writer.⁴ The *Disceptatio* was published in 1610 appended to Ames’s translation into Latin of Bradshaw’s *Puritanismus Anglicanus*, but was then entitled *Scholastica Disceptatio* instead of *Disceptatio Scholastica*, and at that time the controversy with Grevinchovius had not been held. It is in this *Disceptatio Scholastica* as published with the *Rescriptio Scholastica* from 1633 and 1634 onwards that Dr. Ames’s inaugural address on the motto was printed.⁵ In the list (written by himself) of Increase Mather’s books, there are found twelve of Dr. Ames’s works, including the *Rescriptio* and therefore presumably the *Disceptatio* with the address on the motto. Moreover, the *Rescriptio* appears in the list of works that Increase Mather picked out from President Hoar’s library, at the invitation of his widow, when his own (Mather’s) library was injured by fire. There can be no doubt that the Mathers and other leaders knew of Ames’s inaugural address.

It is easy to cite references to Ames in the New England theological literature of a century and a half. The Mathers, indeed, were almost lavish in their praise of Ames, “that *profound*, that *sublime*, that *subtil*, that *irrefragable*, — yea, that *angelical doctor*.”⁶ Information is readily forthcoming as to Dr. Ames’s place in the tests of the New England ministry,⁷ and likewise in the required studies at

¹ iii. 63 (October 19, 1715).

² Cf. the late Thomas G. Wright’s *Literary Culture in Early New England* (1920).

³ The Libraries of the Mathers, in *Proceedings American Antiquarian Society*, xx. 269–356.

⁴ The *Disceptatio* is not appended to the Harvard College Library copy of the *Rescriptio* of Harderwijk (1645), but it is appended to the Trinity College Dublin copy of the same edition.

⁵ See page 64 note 2, above.

⁶ *Magnalia*, i. 236.

⁷ Charles Chauncy (1705–1787), *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New-England* (1743), p. 417.

Harvard, where the curriculum in 1690 gave Ames the distinguished honor of being placed by name in the same category with grammar, logic, and science.¹ The adoption of the works of Ames in the curriculum of the Collegiate School that later became Yale is significant, since all the founders except one were graduates of Harvard; the Connecticut action involves the certainty that Ames's works were present in the Harvard curriculum from 1659 to 1681.²

VII

There remains to be dealt with an important evidence of the regard of our fathers for Dr. Ames, the order for painting his portrait. Such a proof of early devotion, enduring for three hundred years, is seen to-day in the two shrines of Harvard men near to their Alma Mater; it is the portrait owned by Harvard College,³ and its copy at the Harvard Club of Boston. Regarding the Ames portraits, some facts are gathered together here for the first time.

Hugo Visscher, in his *Guilielmus Amesius*, devotes nearly two pages to discussion of portraits of Ames. It is worth while to translate most of what he says:

So far as I know, there exist three portraits of Ames. Matth. Nethenus informs us in the "Præfatio Introductoria" before the edition of the man's Latin works, that *The Fresh Suit*, etc., saw the light only after Ames's death, "cum inserta post præfationem satis longam autoris effigie."⁴ This picture I have not seen. In the copy of the above named work examined by me, the portrait was lacking.

¹ A Particular Account of the Present Stated Exercises Enjoyed the Students (Harvard College Papers, i. 31; printed in C. Meriwether's *Our Colonial Curriculum*, 1907, pp. 55-56).

² E. Oviatt, *Beginnings of Yale* (1916), pp. 174-183, 199; Thwing, *History of Higher Education in America*, pp. 68-71.

There are in the Yale University Library manuscript transcriptions of a tract by Ames on natural philosophy, one being by the Rev. William Partridge (Harvard 1689), minister at Killingworth from 1691 to 1693 (Warham Mather's copy), and the other by the Rev. John Clark (Harvard 1690), pastor at Exeter, N. H. (Letter from Miss Anne S. Pratt, Yale University Library, March 5, 1921.) We may judge that this tract was in use at Harvard College in 1688-1690, and that there were not printed copies available for continued use by all the students.

³ At the time of the original writing of this paper, the portrait hung in Memorial Hall.

⁴ There are copies of the *Fresh Suit*, 1633, with the portrait, in the Boston Athenæum and in the Boston Public Library.

Another engraving may be seen in front of the English translation of Ames's *Medulla*, which appeared in 1642 at the charge of "the honorable the House of Commons." It was done by Will. Marshall and printed "for John Rothwell at the Sunn in Paule: Church yard." From this engraving the portrait was made that is placed in the front of this dissertation [*i. e.* his *Guilielmus Amesius*].

Thirdly, there exists a painted portrait of Ames, which is kept in the town-hall at Franeker. The resemblance of this to the engraving just mentioned is striking. Yet there is a difference. The position of the painted portrait is $\frac{3}{4}$ left; in place of a book Ames holds a glove and a roll of paper in his hand, of which only the thumb and forefinger are visible. It was painted "A° aetatis 57, 1633," thus shortly before his departure from Franeker. The name of the artist is not on the painting. The size is 50 by 65 centimetres. The subscription runs: "Dr Guilielmus Amesius Theol. Prof'."

Now whether the engraving from which the portrait in this dissertation is taken [see above] is made after the painting kept at Franeker, or whether there exists still a fourth portrait, I am unable to decide. The probability pleads for it.

Visscher leaves us in doubt which alternative he thinks the probability pleads for.

The Franeker portrait is reproduced facing this page from a photograph of the original acquired in 1921 by the Harvard College Library.¹

There is, however, a fourth portrait, the one owned by Harvard College. But it so closely resembles the one at Franeker that we may conclude provisionally that one was copied from the other. Mr. William C. Lane writes me that "the Harvard portrait is a trifle longer, and shows the whole of the right hand, holding gloves and papers, which is partly cut off by the frame in the Franeker portrait. That portrait, also, does not show the inscription on the background, which, on the Harvard portrait, reads: 'Rev. William Ames, D.D. aetat. 57, 1633.' The Franeker portrait has the name in Latin on the frame."²

¹ The photograph was obtained through the kindness of Mr. William Phillips, our Minister to the Netherlands. So far as is known, the Franeker portrait is here reproduced for the first time.

² Letter of March 29, 1922.



*Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from a portrait at Franeker*

We should like to suppose that our Harvard College portrait is the original likeness of the learned Doctor. What possibility is there of it?

In the first place, it is not the same as the engraving by Marshall described by Visscher as published in Ames's Marrow in 1642; nor is it the same as that in the Fresh Suit of 1633. The posture of the latter portrait is half-left; with skull-cap, ruff, and gown, and without showing the hands. It is surrounded within a rectangle by an oval border, with reading: "Guilielmus Amesius S. S. Theol. D. et Professor Franequeræ Pientissimus Doctissimus. Ætat. 57. A° 1633," and is signed G S, which initials have not been identified. Beneath is the following inscription:

Sic fuit (ah, fuit!) Amesius. Quid funere tanto,
Cum grege Papali, Pelagianus ovat?
Quid rides Hierarcha? Viri nos arma tenemus,
Astra animam, tellus ossa, sed os tabula.¹

The painted portrait in the Harvard Club was made by Giovanni B. Troccoli, probably about 1897, from the painting owned by Harvard College, and was presented to the Harvard Club by the late F.

¹ The portrait by "G. S." in the Fresh Suit, 1633, appears on the recto of a leaf on the verso of which is printed a note about Dr. Ames signed "Published by S. O." That leaf is bound in different places in different copies of the Fresh Suit. In the Boston Athenæum copy, one has to turn over more than a hundred pages before reaching the leaf; and in the Boston Public Library copy, it is bound still farther toward the back of the book. This portrait was reproduced in "Lives of Eminent & Remarkable Characters, . . . in the Counties of Essex, Suffolk, & Norfolk" (1820), the title of which is somewhat blindly given as "Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk Characters" in F. O'Donoghue's Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits (1908), i. 43. Presumably it is also the portrait reproduced in 1899 in W. E. Griffis's article on "The Pilgrim Press at Leyden" (New England Magazine, N. S., xix. 561).

There seems to be some confusion and uncertainty in regard to the portrait by Marshall and that by "G. S." O'Donoghue states (Catalogue, etc., i. 43) that the Marshall portrait forms a frontispiece to the Fresh Suit, 1633; but this is clearly a mistake. Visscher, as quoted in our text (p. 78), says that the Marshall portrait appeared as a frontispiece to the Marrow, 1642. Possibly that date is an error for 1643. At all events, that portrait is found as a frontispiece to a volume in the Harvard College Library which contains the Marrow, without date on its title-page, and Conscience with the Power and Cases thereof, dated 1643. Preceding the Marrow is a general title, reading: "The Workes of the Reverend and Faithfull Minister of Christ William Ames Doctor and Professor of the Famous University of Franecker in Friesland. Translated out of Latine for publike

Lothrop Ames.¹ It has always been supposed that the Harvard College portrait is the one that formerly hung in Harvard Hall, of which Mr. Sibley spoke in 1862, commenting on an item in the Account-books of the Treasurers of Harvard College from 1669 to 1752. The item reads, under date of June 2, 1680: "Colledge Dr to money pd Major Tho. Smith for drawing Dr. Ames effigies pr Order of Corporation. £4.4." Sibley remarked, "This is probably the picture, renovated and restored by Howorth, which is now in the Picture Gallery in Harvard Hall."² But if it were indeed true that the Harvard Hall portrait was the one which was done by Thomas Smith, it could hardly be the one now owned by the College, for of the latter it is recorded at Harvard that it was the gift of Ephraim Hyde.

Mr. Charles K. Bolton speaks of Major or Captain Thomas Smith and two portraits credited to him. One is that mentioned in the Treasurers' Accounts. The other is a painting of his daughter, Maria Catherine Smith. Little is known of Thomas Smith, who is said to have been a navigator, and it has not been explained why he was called Major and later Captain. Mr. Bolton must have been a little suspicious regarding the portraits, for he says:

Harvard College, in 1680, paid £4.4 to Major Thomas Smith for "drawing Dr. Ames effigies," depicting him with a very florid face, dark skull cap, a broad, white ruff, and a paper (?) in his right hand. As Ames died in 1633, this must be a copy, and does not show Smith's own style; but in skill it equals the 1670-1680 New England group, unless a restorer has taken undue liberties. A less effective portrait, representing Maria Catherine Smith, was done in 1693 "by her father Captain Thomas Smith," more in the manner of Huysman's Catherine of Braganza, than

Vse. Published by Order. London Printed for Iohn Rothwell, and are to be sold at his shop, at the Sun in Pauls Church-yarde, 1643." Very likely, therefore, the portrait was used with each separate pamphlet published in 1643, even when the general title is lacking. Underneath the portrait, in the Harvard College Library copy, is this inscription:

The Pourtrature of the Reverend and worthy Minister of God,
William Ames D.D. sometime of Christs Colledge in Cambridge.
And Professor of Divinity in the Famous University of
Franeker in Friesland. Will: Marshall sculpsit.

Printed for John Rothwell at the Sunn in Pauls Church yard

¹ Letter of Mr. Ames to Mr. Matthews, April 25, 1921.

² 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, vi. 340.

of Curwen, Savage, or Freke. Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, who first called attention to Smith, has been unable to add much to the facts here given.¹

The truth is, that the Harvard College portrait does not show Smith's style because it is not by Smith. Let us trace its history. The earliest mention of it is in the will, proved February 9, 1719, of Samuel Angier, who bequeathed "to my son John the Picture of Dr Ames his g^t Grandfather."² From this son John Angier, then a student at Harvard College, the picture descended to his son, the Rev. Samuel Angier³ of East Bridgewater. On the death of the latter without children in 1805, the picture came into the possession of his nephew Ephraim Hyde, who presented it to Harvard College. This Ephraim Hyde was the son of the Rev. Ephraim Hyde of Rehoboth who in 1767 married Mary Angier, sister of the Rev. Samuel Angier of East Bridgewater. Thus the Harvard College portrait is traced to the possession of the Rev. Samuel Angier, son of Edmund Angier and his first wife Ruth Ames, who was a daughter of Dr. William Ames. Samuel Angier was born in Cambridge in 1655, the year before his mother's death, graduated at Harvard College in 1673, was ordained at Rehoboth in 1679, was settled at Watertown in 1697, and was a Fellow of the Corporation from 1700 to 1707.⁴

Urian Oakes was elected President of Harvard College in 1675, but at first would not formally accept the office, and was not inaugurated until August 10, 1680. On June 2, 1680, the College was recorded as indebted to Thomas Smith for making a portrait of Dr. Ames, and just three months later, September 2, 1680, the daughter of President Oakes, Hannah, was married to Samuel Angier, the grandson of Dr. Ames. The painting was not in the inventory of Edmund Angier's goods at his death in 1692,⁵ so that we must suppose Samuel Angier to have had it at that time. The College, poor as it was in those days, would not have been likely to present a por-

¹ The Founders (1919), i. 2-3.

² Middlesex Probate Records, xv. 295.

³ H. C. 1763.

⁴ Sibley, Harvard Graduates, ii. 426-427; J. N. Arnold, Vital Records of Rehoboth, p. 202; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xlv. 145; Vital Records of Bridgewater, ii. 199.

⁵ Middlesex Probate Records, vii. 403-405.

trait to the daughter of President Oakes or to her intended husband; but even if that had been done, why should the painting not be in the style of the painter as known from another portrait? We must infer that something like this happened: Samuel Angier, departing for Rehoboth in 1679, found that he could not get along without Hannah Oakes. The intimacy of Oakes and Angier, already close and thus cemented, called especial attention to the Ames portrait, which Angier would take away with him. It thereupon was proposed that a copy should be made of the painting, so that there might be one at Harvard College. What became of the copy? It may have been destroyed in the fire of 1764. Probably the removal of Dr. Ames from Franeker to Rotterdam was the cause of the painting of two portraits, one of which is ours. The significance of the interesting conjunction of events in 1680, which we cannot believe to be independent, is that Dr. Ames, not his books only, but the man, was an outstanding figure in the minds of the Harvard College leaders in 1680.

As he looks down upon us nearly two centuries and a half later, and we try to find in his features whatever we have most read into his character, whether dignity, piety, learning, or that friendship and kindness that gained him the friendship and kindness of others, let us regard him with friendship rather than distant acquaintance; let us admire his ability and courage rather than merely his name and fame. Let us accord him some sort of devotion which, if not on the same ground as that of our fathers, will at least show our appreciation of his "intention for New-England," of the blood-tie that binds him to some among us, and of the position he held long after his death as mentor to the great ones of our Colony, but particularly as that link which enables us to lengthen the years of our motto, adding to our idea of it whatever nobility is resident in honorable tradition.

For at the end of this research (which ought to be but the beginning of another), what we hope has been accomplished is the gathering and polishing of some facts hitherto scattered and obscured tending to show that the motto "*Christo et Ecclesiae*" on the Harvard seal came to Harvard from a sister institution at Franeker, whose position in the world of religious letters marked her in the eyes of Harvard men; and came to Harvard, perhaps, because the name of Ames familiar here was associated in the minds of some of the leaders

with an event back in the annals of Franeker when Ames used "Christo et Ecclesiae" as a call to the members of the Academy to stand right with their consciences. Of Franeker, this more may be said, that her Academy was founded in the year of Frisian independence, and that her students began the agitation resulting in Dutch aid to us during the American Revolution.¹ We should be grateful to Friesland, therefore, for her Academy at Franeker and for the dedication.

¹ W. E. Griffis (Nation, October 14, 1909, lxxxix. 350-351).

ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1922

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Tuesday, 21 November, 1922, at half-past six o'clock in the evening, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, PH.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Annual Report of the Council was presented on behalf of the Rev. Dr. CHARLES EDWARDS PARK:

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

Of the five stated meetings during the year, four have been held in the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, whose hospitality is graciously continued to us and gratefully acknowledged. The fifth meeting, that of April, was held at the home of our Treasurer, Henry H. Edes. A number of valuable papers and communications have been presented, and will appear in a forthcoming volume of the Society's Transactions.

The Editor reports that despite appearances the year has been one of marked progress in the publication work of the Society. No volume has been issued since the last annual meeting, but five volumes are at present going through the press, two of which may be expected to appear in the spring and the remaining three just as speedily as is consistent with accurate and thorough editorial work. Volumes XV and XVI, containing Harvard College records, will be taken in hand this winter and pushed to completion. Volume XXIII, containing the second half of the Plymouth Church Records, and Volume XXIV, of Transactions to January, 1922, are nearly ready and will be distributed in the spring unless the printers see fit to organize another

strike. Volume XXV, containing Transactions since January, 1922, will of course have to wait until a sufficient number of meetings has been held to fill it up. It is in type to about page 80, which means that the transactions are editorially up to date at this moment.

The Society is reminded that the cost of publishing a single volume is at present about \$4000. Our annual income from all sources, including special contributions to the Editor's salary, is a trifle over \$9000. Deducting salaries and incidental expenses including the annual dinner, about \$5500 a year is left for publication expenses. It is manifestly impossible to publish at the rate of two or more volumes a year on an income that warrants only one volume and a quarter a year. As in many other enterprises, our usefulness is limited by our resources. Members of the Society can help by transmuting their annual dues to the life membership basis. To do this adds \$100 to the Society's endowment and frees the member from all further dues.

The year has been saddened by the death of the Society's founder, who was also our Treasurer, and our never-failing source of energy and enthusiasm: Henry Herbert Edes. At their last stated meeting your Council adopted the following minute:

The passing of HENRY HERBERT EDES, which occurred on the 13th of October, brought sorrow to the heart of every member of the Council. Founder of the Society, its Treasurer from the beginning, sole survivor but one of the original Council, seldom absent from a meeting, he brought to our deliberations a deep knowledge of the needs of such a society, an experience of thirty years, and a profound and touching interest in the fortunes of the Society, over which he watched as a parent his child. No detail was too trivial, no labor however irksome was shirked, in an endeavor to forward the welfare of the Society. To him, in collaboration with the late John Wilson, is due the beautiful format of the Society's Publications. His earnestness, sincerity, and boundless enthusiasm were infectious, and doubtless were responsible for the success his appeals rarely failed to meet with. Beneath his dominant personality was a tenderness perhaps unsuspected by the stranger or casual acquaintance, but well known to his intimates, to whom he never tired of showing kindnesses. His cordial welcome at our meetings, his emphatic expressions of opinion, his vigorous and outspoken comments on men and things, his inexhaustible fund of amusing and entertaining anecdotes

of noted Boston worthies, his reluctant farewell — these will dwell always in our memories.

Acting under Chapter IV, Article 2, of the By-Laws of the Society, the Council elected Mr. William Crowninshield Endicott to fill the vacancy in the office of Treasurer, occasioned by the death of Mr. Henry Herbert Edes.

Elections to membership during the year have been as follows:
Resident Members:

WILBUR CORTEZ ABBOTT,
GEORGE POMEROY ANDERSON,
WALTER AUSTIN,
FRANCIS TIFFANY BOWLES,
HOMER GAGE;

Corresponding Members:

JAMES BENJAMIN WILBUR,
JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN;

and Honorary Member:

JOHN SINGER SARGENT.

Losses by death during the year have been as follows:

LINCOLN NEWTON KINNICUTT: Loyal, gentle, unassuming, true-hearted, a man of great natural chivalry of soul: a champion of the weak, a lover of children and animals, a man to be loved instinctively and admired without effort.

EDWARD MUSSEY HARTWELL: Secretary of the Statistics Department of the City of Boston. The mention of this office gives no indication whatever of the value of his services to City and Nation. He was teacher, physician, statistician, investigator, and writer. It was his aim in life to better the conditions of those who needed help: children and the laboring class, invalids and the blind. His kindliness was genuine; he was modest without affectation; he was manly and therefore lovable; he endeared himself greatly to those who knew him, for his friendship was life-long and was a constant source of helpfulness and cheer.

WILLISTON WALKER: Provost of Yale University and Professor of Church History. Of the highest scholarly attainments and a recognized authority in his chosen field, he was yet without any trace of

intellectual arrogance. His friendship and help were always available. In his absorption in history, he never lost sight of the purpose of historial knowledge, the guidance and enrichment of human life in the years to come.

RICHARD MIDDLECOTT SALTONSTALL: In him the nobler traits of a distinguished ancestry found their full embodiment. He was a man of great sagacity and breadth of interest, whose skill in practical affairs was enlivened by a capacity for harboring noble visions and dreaming great dreams; and whose worldly interests were brightened by singularly clean pleasures and profitable hobbies. His work was play to him, and his play had ever its more serious, more useful side.

HENRY HERBERT EDES: Founder of this Colonial Society and from the first its Treasurer. His best tribute is written within the hearts of his associates, and his constant devotion and untiring enthusiasm have their most eloquent memorial in this Society which owes to him its existence and prosperity. We contemplate his death with emotions of grief mingled with a sort of terror, for the efficiency with which he prosecuted his many purposes makes his loss well-nigh irreparable.

The TREASURER submitted his Annual Report, as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In accordance with the requirements of the By-Laws the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending November 16th, 1922.

CASH ACCOUNT

	RECEIPTS	
Balance, November 16, 1921		\$103.13
Admission Fees	\$50.00	
Annual Assessments	620.00	
Commutation from one member	100.00	
Sales of the Society's Publications	103.60	
Contribution from a member	10.00	
Editor's Salary Fund, subscriptions	800.00	
Interest	7,620.09	
Henry H. Edes, demand loan.	300.00	

Mortgages, discharged or reduced	\$9,250.00	
Horace Everett Ware Fund	568.13	
\$5,000 American Agricultural Chemical Company Bonds, sold	5,001.25	
5,000 New York Telephone Company Bonds, sold	4,425.00	
5,000 Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company Bonds, sold	5,100.00	
5,000 Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault St. Marie Bonds, sold	5,181.25	
5,000 Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Joint Bonds, sold .	5,237.50	
5,000 New England Telephone and Telegraph Co. Bonds, sold	4,875.00	\$49,241.82

\$49,344.95

DISBURSEMENTS

University Press	\$444.60	
A. W. Elson & Company, photogravure	207.04	
Folsom Engraving Company	38.56	
Boston Storage Warehouse Company	30.00	
Union Safe Deposit Vaults	20.00	
Stewart, Watts & Bollong, Auditing	10.00	
American Academy of Arts & Sciences, fuel, lights and janitor service	20.00	
Salary of the Editor	1,000.00	
Annual dinner	385.05	
Consolidated Index to Volumes 1-25	211.50	
Clerk hire	100.00	
J. Franklin Jameson, annual subscription toward the Bibliography of American Historical Writings	50.00	
Interest paid on loan and in adjustment	1,633.11	
Conveyancers Title Insurance Co., stamps	16.18	
Henry H. Edes, demand loan	300.00	
\$5,000 Pennsylvania Railroad Equipment Trust Bonds .	5,000.00	
5,000 Cedar Rapids Manufacturing and Power Company Bonds	4,450.00	
5,000 New York Edison Company Bonds	5,000.00	
5,000 Detroit Edison Company Bonds	4,400.00	
10,000 Minneapolis, St. Paul and Sault St. Marie, F. M. Refunding Bonds	10,000.00	
5,000 Oregon Washington Railroad and Navigation Bonds	4,105.00	
5,000 New England Telephone and Telegraph Bonds .	4,875.00	
5,000 Cleveland Union Terminals Company Bonds . .	4,980.00	\$47,276.04
Balance on deposit in State Street Trust Company, November 16th, 1922		2,068.91

\$49,344.95

The funds of the Society are invested as follows:

\$31,250.00	in First Mortgages payable in gold coin, on improved property in Greater Boston
85,892.50	in Bonds elsewhere described in this report having a face value of \$95,000.00
25.00	on deposit in the Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston
<u>\$117,167.50</u>	

The investments of the Society yield an average annual income of upwards of 6%.

The bonds bought during the year are all of high grade and many have been purchased at prices below par, so that at maturity our bond securities will furnish an addition of over \$9000 to the principal of the Society's Endowment.

A Trial Balance of the accounts as of November 16th, 1922, is hereto annexed and made a part of this Report.

WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT

Treasurer

Boston, November 16th, 1922

TRIAL BALANCE

DEBITS		
Cash	\$2,068.91	
Income	419.34	\$2,488.25
Mortgages	\$31,250.00	
Provident Institution for Savings	25.00	
\$20,000 Western Telephone & Telegraph Co. Bonds. . .	16,960.00	
5,000 Union Pacific Railroad Equipment Trust Company Bonds	5,000.00	
5,000 Wickwire-Spencer Company's Bonds.	5,000.00	
10,000 Detroit Edison Company Bonds	8,797.50	
5,000 Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards Company Bonds	3,762.50	
5,000 United Electric Securities Corporation Bonds . .	3,750.00	
5,000 Northwestern Bell Telephone Company Bonds . .	4,862.50	
5,000 Philadelphia Company Bonds	4,350.00	
5,000 Pennsylvania Railroad Equipment Trust Bonds . .	5,000.00	
5,000 Cedar Rapids Manufacturing and Power Company Bonds	4,450.00	
5,000 New York Edison Company Bonds	5,000.00	
5,000 Minneapolis, St. Paul and Sault St. Marie Bonds	5,000.00	

\$5,000 Oregon-Washington Railroad and Navigation Company Bonds	\$4,105.00	
5,000 New England Telephone & Telegraph Company Bonds	4,875.00	
5,000 Cleveland Union Terminals Company Bonds . .	4,980.00	\$117,167.50
<u>\$95,000</u>		<u>\$119,655.75</u>
CREDITS		
Henry H. Edes		\$4,500.00
Editor's Salary Fund	\$1,000.00	
Publication Fund	10,000.00	
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund	10,000.00	
Edward Wheelwright Fund	20,000.00	
Robert Charles Billings Fund	10,000.00	
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund	5,000.00	
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr. Fund	3,000.00	
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund	2,000.00	
William Watson Fund	1,000.00	
Horace Everett Ware Fund	3,253.00	
General Fund	19,902.75	
George Vasmer Leverett Fund	30,000.00	115,155.75
		<u>\$119,655.75</u>

BOSTON, November 16th, 1922

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the Accounts of the Treasurer for the year ending 16 November, 1922, have attended to their duty and report, that they find the accounts correctly kept and properly vouched, and that proper evidence of the investments and of the balance of cash on hand has been shown to them.

This Report is based on the examination of Stewart, Watts & Bollong, Public Accountants & Auditors.

JOHN LOWELL
Committee

BOSTON, 21 November, 1922

The several Reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, Mr. SAMUEL WILLISTON presented the following list of candidates; and, a ballot

having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

PRESIDENT

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON

VICE-PRESIDENTS

ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG

GEORGE FOOT MOORE

RECORDING SECRETARY

HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

CHARLES EDWARDS PARK

TREASURER

WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT

REGISTRAR

ALFRED JOHNSON

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS

FRANCIS RUSSELL HART

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were the Right Rev. Charles Lewis Slattery, Dr. Octavius Thorndike Howe, and Messrs. Joseph Gardner Bartlett, Frank Brewer Bemis, John Henry Edmonds, Charles Burton Gulick, James Melville Hunnewell, Kenneth Ballard Murdock, Roscoe Pound, John Singer Sargent, Elihu Thomson, Alfred Marston Tozzer, Harry Walter Tyler, and Arthur Gordon Webster. The PRESIDENT presided, and, in beginning his remarks, paid a feeling tribute to the memory of Henry Herbert Edes.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1922

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 21 December, 1922, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported the death, on the third of December, of JOHN LOWELL, a Resident Member.

Mr. JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL of Boston, and Mr. ARTHUR STANWOOD PIER of Milton, were elected Resident Members.

The PRESIDENT announced his appointment of Dr. CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS and Mr. WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD as delegates from this Society to the annual Conference of Historical Societies to be held in New Haven this month in connection with the meeting of the American Historical Association.

The following remarks, made by the Rev. Dr. CHARLES E. PARK at the funeral of Henry Herbert Edes on the 16th of October, were read:

Death comes as a release to some lives. To the life that is here ended, death came as an interruption. He might say with Job, My purposes are broken off. His life was full of purpose. He had something very definite to do. He is taken from us in the midst of projects and enterprises hopefully and bravely begun, but now left unfinished. He was a man of exceptional industry. Vocation and

avocation filled his days with earnest and happy labor. There were no wasted moments in his record. He divided his time after his own fashion, and the result vindicated his wisdom, for he accomplished an amazing amount.

He was a man of generous ambitions. He labored, not primarily for himself, but for ends that were larger than self, for results that were far reaching, for causes that quite transcended all personal emolument.

He was a great lover of the graces and refinements of life, its sentiment and romance, its continuity and development, its stately dignities and proprieties. For him the Art of Living had peculiar value and strong fascination. Such things as courtesy and culture, a tender memory, a delightful conversation, a happily worded letter, a graceful ceremonial, all the more delicate amenities of man's intercourse with man — these had an almost sacramental value in his eyes.

It was by these that he reminded himself that man is not a brute, but that unsuspected heights of mental and spiritual achievement lie before him for his attainment. It was these things that he gleaned from his study of the age that is past, and it was these things that he strove to perpetuate and to put again into vogue with the age that is waiting before. And although his passionate love for these olden-time graces and amenities of life left him almost in the position of an anachronism amidst the raw crudities of this graceless present, it was yet with a splendid courage that he threw himself into his self-appointed task.

It was a worthy task — to rescue our former culture from the disdain with which an age of material efficiency has sought to discredit it; to make the word *gentleman* mean something real, and stand for something real even to-day. To this ideal he gave his unflagging industry and his personal example with an enduring and a contagious enthusiasm. In fact, it is because of this very enthusiasm for the purposes dear to his heart, that, in a way, he stands in his own light.

We needed to know him more intimately in order to discover the man's deeper traits of character, lying under his enthusiasms and interests. There never was a gentler, a more dutiful, a kindlier nature. He was a devoted son. He was a loyal and warm-hearted friend. His honor and rectitude were taintless. He treated others

with a fairness and a consideration that are altogether too unusual. The Golden Rule shone out in all his dealings and relationships. His ideal of the olden-time gentleman had rooted itself in the deeper soil of his heart.

Added to this, perhaps the reason of this, was his religious faith: a perfectly clear and simple faith in God, in God's law of righteousness, in the worth and beauty of Christian discipleship. It was the faith of his fathers — straightforward, childlike, unquestioning. All his life he stood Valiant in that faith, scorning to doubt, scorning to waver. You remember how Mr. Valiant crossed the River. We cannot help thinking of that picture at this moment:

After this it was noised abroad that Mr. Valiant was taken with a summons, and had this for a token that the summons was true — "That his pitcher was broken at the fountain." Then said he, I am going to my fathers; and though with great difficulty I am got hither, yet now I do not repent me of all the trouble I have been at to arrive where I am. When the day that he must go hence was come, many accompanied him to the river-side, into which as he went he said, "Death, where is thy sting?" And as he went deeper he said, "Grave, where is thy victory?" So he passed over, and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS read a paper on "Charles Bulfinch, Architect and Citizen," written by the Rev. Charles A. Place of Lancaster, and exhibited many photographs and illustrations which Mr. Place had himself made or collected.

On behalf of Mr. SAMUEL E. MORISON, the following communication was made:

In Dr. Octavius T. Howe's paper on "Beverly Privateers in the American Revolution,"¹ there is frequent mention of the *Pilgrim*. "Of all the privateers sailing from Beverly during the war," he writes, "the *Pilgrim* was the most famous and probably the most successful. She was very fortunate in her commanders and is said to have been built for her owner, Mr. [Andrew] Cabot, at Newburyport under the supervision of her first captain, Hugh Hill. She was

¹ Our Publications, January, 1922, xxiv. 318-435.

ship rigged, measured 200 tons and carried 16 nine-pounders and a crew of 140 men. On September 12, 1778, Hugh Hill of Beverly was commissioned commander. . . . On March 24, 1780, Captain Hill resigned command of the *Pilgrim* and was succeeded by Joseph Robinson of Salem. Captain Robinson, like Hugh Hill, was a man of imposing presence, a good sailor and a good fighter. Under him the *Pilgrim* was as successful as under her first commander, and up to October 12, 1782, had sent into Beverly twelve prizes besides numerous others sent into France, Spain, and Martinique."¹ Joseph Robinson was first commissioned commander of the *Pilgrim* on March 24, 1780; again in April, 1781; and for a third time in November, 1781.² On the second and third voyages the surgeon was Josiah Bartlett, who kept a log which has been preserved and is here printed for the first time.³

At the end of the eighteenth century there were three Josiah Bartletts, between whom there has been confusion in biographies and bibliographies, since each was a physician and each was entitled to the prefix "Hon." One was Josiah Bartlett (1729-1795), signer of the Declaration of Independence and Governor of New Hampshire, who received from Dartmouth College the honorary degrees of A.M. and M.D. in 1790 and 1792 respectively. Another was Josiah Bartlett (1768-1838), son of Governor Josiah Bartlett (1729-1795), who received from Dartmouth College the honorary degree of M.D. in 1820. The third was the Josiah Bartlett who wrote the log of the *Pilgrim*.

Born at Charlestown on August 11, 1759,⁴ Josiah Bartlett when less than sixteen years of age assisted Dr. Isaac Foster⁵ in amputating a man's leg at Lexington on the evening of April 19, 1775;⁶ served as hospital mate in the Continental army from January 1, 1777, to December 31, 1779, and as second (or junior) surgeon from

¹ Our Publications, January, 1922, xxiv. 349, 350.

² Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War, xiii. 457; Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 104, 369, clxxii. 59.

³ To the courtesy of Dr. William B. Bartlett of Concord, a great-grandson of Dr. Josiah Bartlett, we are indebted for permission to copy and print the log.

⁴ Wyman, Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, i. 64-65.

⁵ Isaac Foster (1740-1782; H. C. 1758).

⁶ Memoirs of Members of the Social Circle in Concord, Second Series, pp. 172-174.

January 1 to December 31, 1780;¹ was surgeon on the *Pilgrim* in 1781 and 1782; in 1782 settled down in Charlestown, where he became a distinguished citizen as well as physician; received from Harvard College the honorary degrees of M.B. and M.D. in 1791 and 1809 respectively; wrote papers on historical and medical subjects; was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and died March 3, 1820.²

The first cruise of the *Pilgrim* extended from April 19 to October 4, 1781, and the second from December 11, 1781, to July 23, 1782. The vessel visited European, Canadian, and West India waters, and took more than twenty-five prizes. The log follows.

LOG OF THE *Pilgrim*, 1781-1782³

1781 APRIL

Thursday 19th In the morning sailed from Salem in the Ship *Pilgrim*, commanded by Captain Joseph Robinson, bound on a Cruise against the Enemies of the United States, at Noon we saw a Ship in the Bay.

¹ Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War, i. 729.

² See J. Thacher, *American Medical Biography*, i. 150-151; 1 *Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society*, i. 323-330 (sketch by Richard Frothingham); T. F. Harrington, *Harvard Medical School*, i. 234-237; H. A. Kelly and W. L. Burrage, *American Medical Biographies*, 1920, pp. 67-68 (sketch by Dr. Albert N. Blodgett). Frothingham asserts that Bartlett "entered Harvard College, but, owing to the confusion of the times, left it to become a student with Dr. Isaac Forster." Bartlett's name is not found in the list of temporary students printed in our *Publications* (xvii. 271-285), and the statement is probably an error. Among the references given at the end of Dr. Blodgett's sketch is "Oration by Robert T. Davis." This reference is misplaced and properly belongs to the sketch on a previous page of Governor Josiah Bartlett (1729-1795). Dr. Davis's oration is printed on pp. 21-38 of a pamphlet entitled "Unveiling of the Bartlett Statue at Amesbury, Massachusetts, July 4th, 1888." Dr. Blodgett also says that our Dr. Bartlett "corrected the mistake of . . . colonial writers regarding the year of arrival of Gov. Winthrop at Charlestown with fifteen hundred persons, which had been given as 1630, to the true date, 1629, as shown by the original town records of Charlestown." Dr. Blodgett is here merely repeating a statement made by Dr. Bartlett himself in 1813 (see 2 *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, ii. 163 and note); but, needless to say, Dr. Bartlett was mistaken on this point, having been led astray by an erroneous entry.

³ There is neither heading nor pagination in the original. Names of vessels are not, except occasionally, underscored in the original, but are here printed in italics for convenience. It has not been thought necessary to print in italics other words that are underscored in the original.

at four p m came to an Anchor in Portsmouth Harbour. Capt R. M^r Whellen,¹ & myself went on Shore.

Fryday 20th Dined with Capt Nicholls,² at Evening attended a Ball. The appearance and behaviour of the Ladies could not fail to give satisfaction, and the general politeness with which we were treated, impressed me with a very favourable opinion of Portsmouth.

Saturday 21st Breakfasted with D^r Cutter,³ at Ten A M, we went on Board the Ship, the Wind blowing exceedingly hard.

Sunday 22^d At nine in the forenoon got under way, the Wind blowing fresh, at four p m lost sight of Cape Ann from whence we took our Departure. At Even^g saw a Schooner.

Monday 23^d At One p m saw a Sail, and gave chase at Sun set spake her. a Schooner from Gaudiloupe bound to Salem, commanded by Capt Chever, fired several Shott at her during the Chace.

Thursday 26th. At Noon saw a Sail ahead, & gave chase at Evening spake her. She proved a Briggⁿ from Hyspan^a bound to Newbury, commanded by Capt: Coffin, sent our boat on b^d her.

Fryday 27th Early in the Morning saw a Sail to Windward, judged an American.

Saturday 28th In the afternoon saw a Sail close on board us, the weather being very hazy Spake her, the Brigⁿ *Three Friends*, Capt. Beckwith, from Cork, bound to New York & loaded with Provisions. we immediately dispatched her for Salem, in charge of M^r Jn^o Dutch prize Master

1781 MAY

Thursday May 3^d At nine in the Morning saw a Sail from the Mast head a great distance to Windward, made sail and gave chase the Wind being light at Evening kept sight of the Chace with our Glasses. and at ½ past 12 Spake her. The Brigg *Alfred* from Liverpool bound to New York, loaded with prov^s Dry Goods &c. mounting 14 Six pounders and commanded by Capt Collinson.⁴ She engaged us with warmth for 55 Minutes when she Struck. we received no great damage. The Brigg lost one Man, and had her Mast and rigging exceeding injured. Sent 20 Men on board her to repair her Damages.

¹ Richard Whellen.

² See C. W. Brewster, *Rambles in Portsmouth*, ii. 259.

³ Ammi Ruhamah Cutter (1735-1820; H. C. 1752).

⁴ Perhaps Capt. James Collinson: see G. Williams, *History of the Liverpool Privateers* (1897), p. 211. The *Alfred* is listed in that work (p. 667), but its capture is not mentioned.

Fryday 4th Having finished the Work on board the prise, we dispatched her for Salem in charge of M^r Horton¹ prize Master.

Saturday 5th All hands Employed, in unbending our Wounded Sails, bending others, and repairing rigging.

Monday 7th After Dinner saw a Sail to Windward running down upon us, she ran within 2 or 3 miles of us, and hawled her Wind, we made sail, and Sun set spake the Chace. The Ship *Franklin* from Salem (ten Days before us) Captain Turner, and bound home in consequence of some damages she received in an action with a letter of Marke Ship, which she Captoured, and was afterwards retaken by the Convoy of a large Fleet, which he gave us an acc^t off. Capt Turner informed of having seen a large number of Vessells within a few days but he chased none of them. put Capt Collinson, Capt Beckwith & a Mate belonging to the *Alfred* on board the *Franklin*, and parted C^o with her about ten in the Evening.

Sunday 13th At half past four AM saw Two Sail from the Mast head & gave chase to Leward, One being to Windward, which we lost sight off. At Noon Spake our Chace. The Brigg *Albion* Capt Burkett,² from Jamaica, bound to London laden with Sugars Rum &c. Dispatched her for Salem, in charge of M^r Harris,³ prize Mast^r Made Sail for the other Vessell, but saw nothing of her, the weather being hazy.

Wednesday 16th At 7 in the Morning saw three Sail, one on our weather Bow, the other two astern. Made Sail & gave chase, judged the Chace to be a large Ship of War. wore Ship and chas'd the other two. at 11 Spake one of them. The Sloop *Stagg*, Captain Gray, with Salt & Beer, from pool Bound to Newfoundland. M^r Whellen with 2 or 3 Men went on board her with orders to follow us. We made Sail for the other Vessell, and in an hour & 1/2 Spake her. The Brigg *Ann* Capt Leworthy, with Salt & provisions, from Topsom, bound to Newf: Land. At four p m the *Stagg* came up, we took every thing valuable out of her & put them on board the *Ann*. which we sent to Salem in charge of M^r Rand prize Master. We then put all our prisoners to the amount of 55, on board the Sloop, taking their paroles, and gave them permission to go where they pleased, furnishing them with necessary provisions Liquors &c.

Fryday 18th At seven in the morning saw a Sail, a great distance to Windward, we supposed her to belong to a Fleet, we heard off by the

¹ Francis Horton.

² Capt. John Birket: see American Vessels captured by the British during the Revolution and War of 1812 (1911), p. 6.

³ John Harris.

Brigg & Sloop, we kept along in sight of the Ship (which we found her to be) till we saw the Fleet. At Evening saw 120 Sail from the Main Top. They appeared like a floating Town. we discovered five Ships of the line, w^h look'd very formidable.

Saturday 19th at day light Saw four Sail a Stern, at Noon hove about, and stood after them, with a view of falling in with their rear in the Night.

Sunday 20th Soon after the dawn of day we found ourselves directly to Windward of the Fleet & about 4 or 5 leagues distant, we bore away and ran with 2 leag^{es} of the main Body, when a large ship made Sail to speak us. She made so long a Stretch to get our wake that we lost sight of her. We wore Ship & ran towards her a short time when we tacked again. at this time the *Egmont* a 74 and y^e Comodore's Ship was under our lee Bow. She Spread all her Convas and gave chase, we passed her at the Distance of about 3 Miles, when she shew her Colours and fired at us. we displayed English Colours & did not crowd Sail. At Noon the Fleet tack'd, the *Egmont* left of Chace, and fired three Gun's, upon w^h a Frigate that had followed her, crowded all the Sail she could make, and continued to chase us. we hove about and followed the Fleet, for an hour, under our three Topsails, when we found ourselves about One league to Windward of the Ship in chase of us, and she directly upon our Beam. we hove about and made Sail, and kept our Wind close. in four hours we had so far gained upon the Frigate, that we could not see her Hull from the Deck, at five she gave over chase, and stood back towards the Fleet which was not in sight, except two or three Vessells which had followed the Frigate, we supposed to shew signals, as they followed each other at a great distance

Wednesday 23^d Day light 21 hours of the 24.

Thursday 24th at Nine in the Evening saw a Sail, being very disagreeable weather did not speak her, but kept in Sight of her thro' the Night.

Fryday 25th At day light we discovered the Sail to be a large Ship. she passed us at the distance of half a Mile. The weather being very hazy & the Wind blowing a Gale, we could make no particular discoveries, as she passed us she shew signals, by false fires &c, have got about a league a Stern of us, she hove about and stood after us, we hove too, till she came very near us, and displayed British Colours. The Severity of the Weather prevented our speaking her, and we again made sail steering for the English Channell.

Saturday 26th In the morning we saw a Sail to Windward, supposed to be the same Ship we saw Yesterday. The weather being hazy we soon lost sight of her.

Wednesday 30th At ten AM saw the Land, being the SW part of Ireland & exceedingly mountaineous. at Evening judged ourselves about 7 leagues from the land we first saw. Just at Sunset saw two large Whales, 2 Miles dis^t. Threw our lines out for Fish, but caught none.

Thursday 31st Standing from the land, At Evening saw a Sail standing for it, we endeavoured to way-lay her, without success.

JUNE 1781

Sunday June 3^d At four in the morning saw a Sail to leward, & gave chace, at 8 discovered her to be an Armed Ship. She made Sail from us. after a very severe Chace at 8 in the Evening we knew her, and made private Signals which she answered. The *Essex*, Capt Cathcart,¹ from Salem, out since 22^d Ap^r and no prize. kept C^o with the *Essex*.

Monday 4th Tried the Ships in Sailing, and we beat the *Essex* greatly. In the afternoon we saw Cape Clear, at Evening judged ourselves 3 leagues from the land, Tried for Fish, but caught none.

Thursday 7th At four AM saw a Sail, and gave chace, at 6 fired a Shott which passed her, soon after which, the *Essex* spake her, the Ship *Good Intent*, a Transport from Jamaica bound to Europe. Ten Days since she was boarded by the *Rambler*, an American Cruizer, whose people, and stripped her of every thing, except Sick Soldiers & Women, we let her go again. Just as we spake the Transport, we saw a sail to leward & gave chace, in three hours spake her. The Ship *Defence*, Capt Edmunds,² belonging to Beverly, from Bilboa on a Cruize. Capt. Cathcart & Edmunds, with one Officer from each of their Ships dined and spent the afternoon on board us. I went on board the *Defence* and spent an hour with D^r Herrick.

Fryday 8th At five in the Morning spake an Outlandish Vessell from Bourdeaux. The Two Ships in Company.

Sunday 10th At ½ past five in the morning we saw a Sail a head, we stood after her some time before she altered her Course, by which we judged her a Cruizer. immediately upon her making Sail, we all gave chace, we out sailed the *Essex* greatly, and run the *Defence* Hull down. at Noon knew the chace, fired a Shott, and shew our Colours. At two OClk, not having spake our chace, we saw a large Ship to Windward runing for the Midst of us. when she had an opportunity to view us fairly she fired a Gun to Windw^d and Shew English Colours. many were

¹ Capt. John Cathcart.

² Capt. John Edmunds (Edmands, Edmonds).

the conjectures respecting this Ship. and it was generally supposed she was not a Kings Ship, unless she meant to deceive us, which deception we sorrowfully experienced. She first chaced us but gained not a Yard, she then altered her Course for the *Essex*, then 2 leagues a stern of us, till now we had stood after our Chace, (knowing her to be a Beverly Privateer) but we tackd Ship and endeavoured to get to the *Essex*, without success. Our Chace tack'd also, and stood after us at a Distance, By this time we had a fair view of our unwelcome Companion, and judged her to be a heavy Frigate. we prepared for Action, expecting the *Essex* would take the Ships Fire, and endeavour to get to us, but we had the mortification to see her fall a prey after a chace of 4 hours. The *Defence* had prudently taken timely care being but a dull sailer, and was not in Sight, Soon after this disaster we wore Ship to prevent falling a sacrifice, and soon lost sight of the Frigate and our late Consort. we kept sight of our former Chace, not having spake her

Monday 11th a perfect Calm at day light the Ship was about 2 leagues Dis^t from us. we both shew our Colours. At noon we hoisted out one Yawl, and sent an Officer with five men to the Ship, They sent their Boat to us, at Evening we Spake each other the Wind breezing up. The *Rambler*, belonging to Beverly, from Bilboa, on a Cruize, & com^d by Cap Lovett.¹ In the Evening judged we Saw a light a great distance a Stern, kept C^o wth y^e Ship.

Tuesday 12th At 8 AM we saw a Sail, and soon found her to be one of a Fleet standing to the Westward — we stood from them some time & then hove about, to fall in with their stragling Vess^{els} but the weather became exceedingly hazy, & we saw no more of them. At three p m saw a Brigg close on board us, we fired several times at her while striving to escape us. At four Spake her, She proved the *Snake* Sloop of War, M^r Jackson,² from S^t Kitts to Europe wth dispatches from S^r Geo B Rodney, mounting 14 Guns, the Disp^s were in charge of Captain Smith of the *Centau* (a 74.) who destroyed them when he struck his Colours. We took out the Prisoners, & dispatched the Brigg for Salem in charge of a prize Master from the *Rambler*. Just at Evening Saw a sail, & in 10 Min.^{es} Spake her, The Brigg Capt Vaughn from with Flour &c from Bristol, to New York. This Vessell sailed with the Fleet, and was returning to the nearest port having sprung a leak. Sent her to the nearest Spanish port, in charge of a prize Master from the *Ram*. The *Snake* spake the Fleet 2 hours before we saw her, and the Comod^{re} told them of us.

¹ Capt. Benjamin Lovett.

² William Jackson: see W. L. Clowes, *Royal Navy*, iv. 70, 111.

Thursday 14th Being very Bad weather, at 6 in the Evening saw the Fleet to leward 2 Miles Dis^t we judged the nearest Ships to be y^e Convooy, and therefore kept our Wind.

Fryday 15th Blowing a Gale, at half past 4 AM saw the Fleet very near us, laying too, we made all the Sail the Elements would permit to get under their Lee, which being accomplished we lay too the remainder of the Day.

Saturday 16th At four p m. saw the Fleet, and a Vessell dogging them, which we judged a Cruizer. Found the Convoy in front, and therefore dispaired of doing any thing. we then chaced the Cruizer, but at Evening lost sight of her. Carried away our Gibb Boom &c. & rigged another in the Chace

Monday 18th at ½ past four AM saw two Sails one a head and the other a great dis^e to leward. Chaced the One ahead, and in 2 hours Spake her. a Danish Ship from S^t Croix, to Sweeden. Made Sail to Leward, and at Noon spake the Chace. The Ship *Good Intent*, Capt from the West Indies to London, with Sugars Tobacco &c. at 3 p m dispatched her for Brest in charge of M^r Bunker prize Master. Gave chace again to the Danish Ship. & at Sun Set she hove too, we having fired several times at her, at Dark we put all our prisoners on board her, to get to Europe, having taken their parolls and furnished them with provisions. The behaviour of the Kings Officers on board our Ships during their Stay, could not fail to give satisfaction, and the Generosity & Gratitude of Capt Smith & M^r Jackson at their departure extended to the most inferior Officer on b^d the Ship. kept C^o thro' y^e Night with the Dane & our prize.

Tuesday 19th At 11 AM saw a Sail & gave chace. at 2 spake her, a portigueze Brigg from Lisbon to Galloway. 2 Englishmen were on Board her, but we could find no cause to detain her. parted with our prize, and the Dane — Capt. Lovett spent the afternoon on b^d us.

Wednesday 20th Capt Robinson & myself dined and spent the Afternoon on board the *Rambler* & her Lieut^s on board our Ship, In the morning saw the Portig^e Brigg

Fryday 22^d At One p m saw seven Sail in Company, from the Mast head. having taken a fair View of them, we spake the *Rambler*, and agreed to speak them, we made sail together, and spake a Ship, informing us that they were a Fleet of Transports from Gibraltar bound to London, this Ship had 8 Guns we put M^r Bunker on board her, and dispatched her for Brest. The Fleet had began to disperce, & the *Rambler* made Sail to Windward in quest of three of them. 2 of which struck to her in our Sight, 1 Ship & 1 Snow — both Armed. We chased

to Leward, at Evening spake a large Ship of 18 Guns, but poorly Man^d In the night spake one of the Ships, which the *Rambler* had captured, & directed her to follow us. parted C^o with the *Rambler*, & M^r Bunker. At Evening we carried away our M T Sail Y^d

Saturday 23^d Sent our Boat on Board the prizes.

Sunday 24th At Day light we struck soundings in 120 Fathom. at Midnight following 75 fathom. In the afternoon sent our Boat to the prizes with Signalls &c.

Monday 25th At day break saw a Sail standing towards us, at 7 AM spake her a Danish Brig. at half past ten spake another. After Dinn^r Saw a Fleet of 15 Sail of large Ships. Two of y^m chased us, and for some time gained upon us, At Evening made Sail, and left our prizes to Share their Fate.

Tuesday 26th In the morning saw the Two Ships still in pursuit of us, but farther distant then last Evening, we found they had spake our prizes, & consequently gave them Over, should the Fleet prove to be an Enemy's. At half past ten AM passed within Shott of 2 Brigg^s judged to be Nuteral Vessells, At 11 the Ships gave over Chace. At Noon we saw a Fleet ahead, at four spake one of the lew^dmost, (a small Sloop) by which we learned the Fleet, to be Coasters, from Nantz bound to Brest, under Convoy of 2 Kings Ships. We hove too, and the *Renoma* of 40 Guns bore away and spake us. The Captain very politely furnished us with a pilot to carry us to Brest. Just as we spake the Sloop, we made the Land, on our Weather Bow 8 leagues Dis^t at Sun Set saw the Houses, fences &c very evidently, and by the Pilots information 20 leag^s from Brest. Kept C^o with the Frigate thro' the Night, and wth several of the Fleet.

Wednesday 27th At day-light we were very near the Shore, passed several, very dangerous, and disagreeable Rocks, at 3 pm, saw the City of Brest, at five passed the Comodore, saluted with 13 Guns, he returned the salute — Came to an Anchor, half a Mile from Town. the Commandant came along side, & sundry other Boats. heard of the Arival of our prize *Good Intent*.

28th Went on Shore in y^e Morning

1781 JULY

July 4th heard of M^r Bunker's arival at La Orient. on y^e 9th he and his Crew returned to our Ship.

16th Unmoored, and hauled into the Harbour, unrigged, and lightened her.

20th Hauled the Ship on the Ways, for Coppering.

22^d removed the Ship from the Ways and began to fit her for Sea — 50 Men were six hours employed in Coppering the Ship, compleatly.

26th Hauled off to the Harbour, & moored the Ship.

The entrance of the port of Brest affords the most delightful prospect. The Country in general, level, fertile, and the plantations regularly laid out. Vegetables are dailey brought to Market in great abundance. The Harbour is very justly called one of the Best in the World. Every part of it is very strongly fortified in a manner which does Honour to the Engineers of France. The grand Fleet sailed Two days before our arival consequently there were but few Ships of War in the Harbour. Brest being the principle Kings port in France, is Garrisoned, and governed by Military power, to which the greatest deference is paid. the City is divided by the extremity of the Harbour, w^h tho' very narrow, affords a passage for first rate Ships at Low Water. The situation is pleasant, the Streets have a Good wedth, & are regalar, in general, paved with square stones. The houses generally are 4 Story & some are five. their parlours in the 2^d or 3^d. The Kings works are exceedingly extensive neither trouble or expence has been spared to render them convenient, and every branch of Marine Business is executed with the greatest dispatch, four or five Thousand Slaves are constantly employed in the Dock Yards, and other labourious departments. The Manners & Customs vary from the English agreeable to representations, particularly in the neglect of Cleanliness in their Houses, and their Mode of preparing Entertainments. During our stay there was a Fair which lasted a Week, and where every kind of Merchandise might be purchased. We very frequently attended the Plays at the Theater. These exhibitions afforded much more amusements yⁿ any other of the public diversions. The Scenery, and Dress of the Actors were good, and always adapted to the peices performed, which in general were well chosen — The Dress of the Citizens of every denomination coresponds with the representations of Frenchmen in every part of the World.

Monday 30th At Two p m came to Sail, saluted the Comodore, which he returned, with American Colours flying. At Sun set came to an Anchor 4 leag^s from Brest, and 1 Mile from the Shore.

Tuesday 31st At nine Am got under way in C^o with the the Brigg *Black Pincis* Capt: M^cCarthy, saw sever^l Vessells in the course of the Day, at Evening saw the Light house of Ushent.

1781 AUGUST

August 1781. Wednesday 1st Spake 3 Nutral Vess^ls in the Course of the Day, & saw several others.

Thursday 2^d Saw several Vessells under Nuteral Colours.

Fryday 3^d At 10 AM saw 2 Sails, gave Chace to One of them, prepared for Action & at half past One p m, spake the Chace, a large Sweedish Ship. Capt M^cCarthy & 2 of his Officers dined on board our Ship, at 5 pm, saw a Sail to Windward. At Evening Capt M^cCarthy saluted us with 13 Guns, we returned the Salute, and parted C^o with the Brigg.

Sunday 5th at 8 AM saw a Sail standing athwart us, stood towards her till we counted 10 Guns on her broad side, then altered our Course, finding we could out Sail her we stood again for her. She made Sail & we also. we gained upon her till 4 p m when by the assistance of 18 or 20 Oars she held us. At Evening gave over Chace. At 11 Am saw the Land being some part of Ireland, stood towards it in the Night.

Monday 6th In the Morning found ourselves not more than 3 or 4 Miles from the Land, which appeared very hilly and uncultivated. Being quite Calm we hove too, and caught several Fish, which were very acceptable. Saw many Fishing Boats in the course of the Day. at 10 p m, One came along side us. In the Night stood off, the Wind breezing up.

Wednesday 8th Spake 2 Nuteral Vessells.

Fryday 10th At 4 p m Saw a sail & Gave chace. prepared for Action & at ½ past Eleven spake the Chace, a large Nuteral Brigg. At Evening saw a Sail off our starb^d qua^r.

Saturday 25th Distance p^r Logg last 24 hours, 228 Miles.

Sunday 26th At 4 p m saw a Sail & gave Chace. At 10 spake her. His Majestys Packet Brigg^{tn} *Comet*, M^r M^cDonough from Jamaica to London, The Dispatches destroyed on our boarding her. sent M^r Bunker on b^d the prize she keeping us Company.

Monday 27th In the afternoon M^r Whellen and myself went on board the *Comet* & spent 3 hours, in Company with sundry passengers who were permitted to tarry on b^d her.

Tuesday 28th At 9 AM saw a Sail, and gave chace at One spake her, a French Brigg, bound to Mersales. put M^r M^cDonough on board her with his Baggage at his own request parted C^o with our prize.

Fryday 31st In the afternoon we saw an exceeding large Shark, struck him several times with Harpoons, and then hoisted out the Yawl, six Men went in quest of him, & I made one of the Number. having rowed a Mile from the Ship, we overtook him, & prepared to attack him having thrown the Harpoon it struck him & held fast. The Warp in running out very rapidly, as the fish was going down, took a turn round

M^r Bunkers Leg which drew him overboard, this disaster rendered our situation very dangerous, he held fast the gunnel of the Boat for his own preservation, by which means she was almost filled. at this Juncture the Warp happily parted below the turn, by which means we unexpectedly saved M^r Bunker, whose Leg was considerably hurt, returned to the Ship & having hoisted in the Boat we made Sail.

1781 SEPTEMBER

Saturday Sep^r 1st At nine Am saw a Sail, and gave Chace. at four p m fired at her, & in half an hour spake her. The Brigg *Minerva*, Capt Bolton¹ from Virginia to Bristol, with Tobacco & Lumber. she had on b^d sundry dispatches of no great consequence. She mounted 10 Guns. put M^r Porter on b^d her and kept him Comp^y.

Monday 3^d At 3 p m, parted C^o with M^r Porter directing him to Beverly.

Tuesday 4th At 10 Am saw a Sail to leward, judged her to be our Prize.

Thursday 6th at 8 AM a Sail ahead and gave chace, at Noon spake her, the Brigg *Hope* Capt Celso, from East Florida to Bristol, with Turpentine. put M^r Thing² on board her and sent her for Beverly.

Tuesday 11th At day light saw a Sail, and gave chace at 11 AM spake her, the Schooner *Liverpool* from Hallifax to Antigua, put M^r Biard on board her and ordered her for Beverly.

Wednesday 12th In the morning saw 2 Ships which from their behaviour we judged to be Cruizers, we took every method to view them thoroughly, found that we out sailed them and that they mounted at least 20 Guns each. At noon one of them was within Musquet Shott of us, and fired a great number of Shott at us, some came very near, at One we made Sail, thinking not proper to Engage. They fired under British Colours, but we were not satisfied with respect to them.

Thursday 13th At 6 AM saw the Two Ships again, We judged that they wished to bring us to Action, but we thought proper to avoid it, & we therefore parted with them, and at 2 p m lost sight of them. In the Morning they hoisted American Colours, when they hove too for us.

Tuesday 18th At 6 AM saw a Sail ahead and gave chace, at Noon fired at her, and at 1 spake her, a Cartell from Bermuda, to R^d Island with 14 Americans & Frenchmen, put 3 Captains 1 Mate & 1 Boy on

¹ Capt. John Bolton: see *American Vessels*, etc., p. 55.

² This name is obscure: perhaps "King."

b^d her, just as we parted with the Cartell, saw 3 Sail, a Ship & Sloop astern, and a Brigg on our quarter. Gave chace to the Ship, and kept sight of her, the Sloop made off.

Wednesday 19th At Day light saw the Ship 4 miles Dist^t being Calm could not get at her till 10 p m when the Wind breezing we ran to her. She hailed and fired at us, Capt R. thought proper not to engage in the Night, and hove too letting her pass, and keeping sight of her.

Thursday 20th Saw the Ship 2 Miles Dist^t & a perfect Calm, called all hands, and out Sweeps, in 3 hours ranged along side of her, Having fired one full Broadside at us, we returned the Compliment, being close on board her, and she Struck her Colours. The Ship *Peggy* 16 Guns from Nevis to Hallifax Captain Knox with rum & Sugar. We received no material damage. The prize lost one Man. On board her were several Gentlemen & passengers, and a M^{rs} Rogers, and 2 agreeable Young Ladies her Dau^s put M^r V Bunker on Board her, and kept her Company.

Fryday 21st At 7 AM saw a Sail and gave chace at Noon hoisted out our Barge, the weather being calm, and sent 8 men to the chace at four p m they brought her along side. The Sloop *Dove*, a prize to the *Peggy* (& the one we saw with her the 18th) formerly bound to the West Indies, and commanded by Capt Johnson who we have on board our Ship. put M^r Burges on board the Sloop and took her in Tow. she was loaded with Tobacco.

Sunday 23^d Saw a Sail to Leward in the Afternoon

Monday 24th Spake the *Peggy*, & kept her C^o.

Tuesday 25th I went on board the *Peggy* and furnished her with Signals &c. from Captⁿ Robinson.

Thursday 27th Went on board the *Peggy* to Visit the Ladies.

Fryday 28th By Capt Knox we received information that the 2 Ships we saw the 12th & 13th were the *Bellona* & *Regulator*, letters of Marque, full mann'd and Cruizing.

Saturday 29th In the afternoon we learned from One of the Prisoners, that at 4 OClock, the prisoners had determined to attempt taking the Ship. We found sundry matters they had secreted to facilitate their Design. Ever having been on our guard their attempt would have been in vain, But this inteligence doubled our vigilance, and we Ironed them hand & foot.

Sunday 30th At Day light sounded in 75 fathom, Shoaled the water gradually till Midnight found ourselves in 24 fath^m supposing to be on George's Bank.

1781 OCTOBER

October 1781 Monday 1st Continued to throw the Lead thro' the 24 hours, from 35 to 15 or 16 fathom of Water. About midnight parted C^o with the *Peggy*.

Tuesday 2^d At day light saw 2 Sail off our wear Bow, 2 leag^s distant. They evidently shew themselves to be Ships of War, and one of them to have 2 tier of Guns, we endeavoured to get by them, (supposing Nantucket Shoals just to leward of us) which we effected by running a risque. Just as they were abreast our Beam, and within shott, the smallest of them (which had been ahead under full sail from our seeing them) hove too, and shortned sail, under American Col^s. The large ship spake her under French Col^s which they both wore till we lost sight of them. The Boats passed between them sundry times, and several of our people knew the small Vessell to be the Ship *Defence*, (our Consort on the 7th June last). The other we supposed to be a British Ship of War. When we first made sail we parted C^o with our Sloop which we supposed must unavoidably fall a prey, as the Ships chaced her after hoisting in their Boats &c. Sounded sundry times & deepened the water from 16 to 140 Fathom. At midnight Saw a Sail close on board us, but did not speak her. we flatter ourselves wth the pleasing hopes of her being y^e *Peggy* — having feared she would fall a prey wth the Sloop; as she could not be far distant when we fell in with the Ship's.

Wednesday 3^d At 11 Am saw Cape Ann dist^t 5 Leag^s at Noon had the Satisfaction to see the *Peggy* standing for the Land. saw several Vessells in the Course of the day, at Dark spake a Fishing boat, and took a Pilot on board. At midnight came to an Anchor in Beverly Harbour. M^r Cobbett came on board us, & informed y^t 3 of our prizes had arived safe, & no more.

Thursday 4th In the morning we heard from on Shore, that a Ship and Brigg were engaged in the Bay, & supposed the Ship to be the *Peggy*, prepared and got underway, run as far as abreast Cape Ann, when we found our intelligence was not authentic, and saw the *Peggy*, standing in, — returned and Came to an Anchor at 1 p m. In the Afternoon rode to Boston in C^o with M^r Whellen

Pilgrims Officers 1781

Joseph Robinson . . .	Captain	George Sugden . .	Master
Richard Whellen . . .	1 st Lieu ^t	Nathan ¹ Otis . .	Off ^r Marines
William Courtis . . .	2 ^d Lieu ^t	J B	Surgeon
Robert Berkley ¹			Surg ⁿ Mate

¹ This name is obscure: perhaps "Buckley" or "Bukley."

1781 DECEMBER

Tuesday 11th At 3 OClk p m sailed from the harbour of Marblehead in the Ship *Pilgrim* commanded by Captain Joseph Robinson, bound on a Cruize against the Enemies of America. At Evening lost sight of C. Ann.

Thursday 13th Towards Evening saw a Brigg to Windward 2 or 3 Leag^s distant, judged to be an American.

Fryday 21st passed the line of the Tropic of Cancer, This circumstance afforded much diversion for our Ships C^o though attended with a very disagreeable ceremony to such as never crossed it before.

Sunday 23^d At Evening we hove too in the Latt^{de} of the Island of Antigua, where we spent the night.

Tuesday 25th At Evening hove too in the Latt^{de} of Barbadoes, having had very blustering weather from the time of our departure from America.

Saturday 29th In the Afternoon we fell in with and spake the Ship *Mohawk*, and Brigg *Swift* both from Salem on a Cruize. The *Mohawk* (very unhappily) & us ran aboard each other, by which accident we carried away our figure Head & received some other injuries. The other Ship received no visible damage. much was said on this affair respecting Seamanship, and each party were naturally urgent to vindicate their own conduct, But it appeared to me that both Captains were aiming to take the same position should we not have proved friends to each other.

Sunday 30th At 8 in the morning after a chace of 2 hours, we captured the Ship *Hercules* from Africa bound to Barbadoes, mounting 12 Guns, commanded by Captain Wilson & loaded with Wood, Wax & Ivory, & a quantity of Gold dust. About 11 OClk, the *Mohawk* and *Swift* came up and claimed a porportion of the Prize, Captain Robinson not supposing them entitled to any part of her forbid their putting men on board. At noon dispatch'd her for Martineco in charge of M^r Rand, p. Mast^r Towards Evening chaced a Vessell (which we saw to Windward) in Company with the Ship & Brigg & at Evening lost the Chace.

Monday 31st At day light saw a Sail to Windward & the Island of Barbadoes about 3 leagues to leward. Gave chace but by reason of a large Ship (judged to be a British frigate) bearing down & gaining fast upon us we were obliged to alter our course. The Ship chaced us till Evening.

1782 JANUARY

Tuesday 1st At four p m we came to an Anchor in Man of war Bay in the Island of Tobago, for the purpose of repairing our damages. The

prospect from the entrance of the Harbour affords nothing but barrenness and desolation: But upon coming too we saw upon an Eminence near the shore five or six Hutts, and a tract of clear'd Land, w^h we found to be a plantation, The proprietor of which (being the only white person we saw belonging to the Island) visited us twice during our stay. Capt Robinson returned his visits, but saw nothing particularly inviting. On the 2^d Ins^t I went on shore in the morning, and Curiosity led me into the woods while the people were filling water-casks. with much fatigue and perseverance I got to top of an exceeding high mountain about four miles from the shore, where I had an extensive prospect. The first human form that presented to view was the Body of a man in a Gibbit erected on the brow of the hill, and w^h I afterwards found might be seen from our Ship by the assistance of a Glass. Upon the top of the mountain is a plantation and there are two others in its vicinity, but by far the greatest part of the land in sight appeared totally uninhabited, consequently uncultivated, upon visiting the house of the planter (which struck me as exceedingly well calculated for the climate, and was very decently furnished for a place of great obscurity) I was told by his Wife, a likely Negro Girl, that her Husband, was at the house of a neighbour, residing 2 Miles distant on the other side of the hill my inclination to visit the other plantation was very great, but the want of time joined to my excessive fatigue prevented so additional a walk. I had a fair prospect of the distant houses & found them to be erected according to the same plan with the one I visited. At a small distance from their dwelling's are Hutts appropriated to the use of Slaves, whose manner of living joined to their great labour & nakedness, could not fail to excite sensations of pity in a breast unaccustomed to Cruelty. From the Negro Lady I rec^d every mark of civility, and by her was entertained in a manner that discovered her associate not to be unacquainted with the manners & Customs of the polite world. The principle produce of these plantations are cotton-wool, & there are some fields of Sugar-cane & Coffee. Vegetables may be procured plentifully & during my excursion I picked a quantity of the finest Limes I ever saw. We were informed that Scarborough the Capital of the Island is garrisoned by French, but I Judged the residents of this part of the Island to be their own law-makers; and that their severity to the Slaves exceeded ever the rigor of a military Government.

Thursday 3^d At four p m having so far compleated our Business as circumstances would permit we came to sail, & at Evening lost sight of the Island, saw a small Sloop, judged to be French. At Tobago we left Captain Wilson & such of his men as did not enter wth us.

Saturday 5th At Eight in the Evening saw a Ship close on board us, she hoisted lights, & shew such signs of force that Captⁿ R——n thought prudent not to speak her in the night.

Sunday 6th Saw 2 Vessels in the course of the afternoon but paid no particular attention to them. At Sunset saw Barbadoes, 8 or 10 leagues to Windward.

Monday 7th About 2 in the morning saw a Ship close on board us, we bore away and let her pass, at day light found her in chace of us, kept sight of her till Evening. In the Afternoon we saw Two Sail, but did not chace.

Tuesday 8th At sun-rise we passed so near the Island of Barbadoes (to Windward) as afforded an opportunity of distinguishing the different plantations & Houses. On our passage from Tobago, we saw S^t Vincents, S^t Lucia & the Granadilla's, & unfortunately, the several Vessels which we have seen of late were either so near the land, or so far to leward, that chacing was considered impracticable.

Thursday 10th Saw a Ship to windw^d judged an American Cruizer.

Fryday 11th Were chaced all day by 2 Ships, judged to be British Men of War.

Saturday 12th We saw a Ship to lew^d at a great distance, supposed to be one of those, mentioned yesterday

Sunday 13th Saw the Island Descada a great distance to leward.

Tuesday 22^d At Sun rise saw a Ship to Windward running for us, hove-too, & at 8 OClk spake, She proved to be the *Scourge* from Salem on her Cruize & commanded by Captain Parker,¹ who came on board us and spent the afternoon; he informed of having been nine weeks out & taken but One prize, from Nf^dLand.

Wednesday 23^d Cap^t Robinson & myself dined & spent the afternoon on board the *Scourge*.

Fryday 25th On meridian we spake a very large Portugues Ship from Brazill, bound Lisbon. Captain Parker and Doctor Spooner dined & spent the afternoon on board our Ship.

Saturday 26th At Eight in the morning we Captured the Brigⁿ *Friendship* from Newfoundland bound to Barbadoes & commanded by Captain Row, At noon dispatched her for the Havannah in charge of a M^r Dean prize Master from the *Scourge*, On b^d her were D^r Row & family.

Monday 28th In the forenoon we spake a portigues Ship from Brazill bound to Lisbon. Toward Evening saw a Sail to Windward, Gave

¹ Capt. Timothy Parker.

chace, at ten spake her, The *Prince William Henry*, a packet from Falmouth, with dispatches for the West India Isl^{ds} mounting six Guns & commanded by Captain Peters, the mail was destroyed upon our boarding her, but we saved sundry public papers which were sent into port by M^r Bunker prize M^r On the morning of the 29th having taken out sundry stores for our Ship & the *Scourge*, she was dispatch'd for Saint Pierre.

1782 FEBRUARY

Feb^y 4th Captain Robinson & Peters dined and spent the afternoon on board the *Scourge*.

Sunday 10th Captⁿ Parker & D^r Spooner dined &c on board our Ship.

Wednesday 13th At one p m saw a sail upon our weather bow & running for us. At the distance of four miles she hawl'd by the wind & we passed each other which afforded us an opportunity of viewing her particularly. We found her to be a line of battle Ship under British Colours, when she got upon our Beam she bore away again for us. The *Scourge* being to windward of us we hove too to speak her, but could not accomplish it without danger, as we found the large Ship outsailed us, & that one must unavoidably fall a prey. when we found the *Scourge* was under command of her Shot, & she began to fire at us, we made the best of our way; & about five had the great mortification to see our Concert strike her Col^{rs} This disaster put us on our guard, and we carried a pressing sail through the night.

Saturday 23^d At ten in the morning we saw a Sail, a head, Gave chase, At 1/2 past five spake her. The Brigg^{tn} *Penobscott* from Penobscott bound to Barbadoes, 8 Guns, commanded by Captain M^cClane & loaded with Lumber. put M^r Stewart on board her & dispatched her for Saint Pierre.

Sunday 24th At five p m saw the Island of Martinico under our Lee, 6 or 8 leagues distant, saw several Vessells in the night judged to be Coasters.

Monday 25th On meridian we came to an Anchor in the harbour of Saint Pierre, where we found several American Vessells. We were likewise announc'd of the arival of our prizes, *Prince W^m Henry*, *Penobscott*, and *Friendship* (the one orded to y^e Havan^h). The *Hercules* sunk at sea the day after our parting with her & M^r Rand & his Crew were taken from her by the *Mohawk*. many severe reflections were cast upon M^r Rand respecting the prize, and probably not without great Cause. Immediately upon our arival all hands were employ'd in fitting y^e Ship for Sea.

1782 MARCH

Saturday 2^d On meridian, having been 48 hours under way, we made Sail in Company with the *Porus* of 22 Nine pounders, Captain Carnes,¹ & 118 Men. The *Brutus* 20 Six pounders & 95 Men. Captain Brookhouse.² The *Franklin* 18 Six pounders Capⁿ Duvall,³ & 85 Men, & The *Halker* Captain Cane 16 Six pounders & 105 Men, with a determination to invest the Island of Tortola. This plan having been several days in agitation, regulations were adopted for the government of the Fleet & Captain Carnes was appointed Comodore. At Evening passed the Island of Dominica 3 or 4 leagues distant.

Sunday 3^d In the afternoon chased a Danish Schooner. The Comodore spake her, & made a Signal for all the Captains, to go on board him, passed S^t Eustatia & Saba, the latter plainly in sight.

Monday 4th About 3 pm we saw the Virgin Islands, & Two Sails under the Land, By a signal from Cap: Carnes The fleet gave chase, but spake neither of them. At Sun set the Captain's were called on board the Comodore, where they spent an hour. At Evening spake a small Schooner which was detained with the Fleet. we ran in among the Islands. 200 chosen men were to land for the purpose of taking the Town, on Tortola, & to be commanded by Major Courtis, each officer of Marines commanding the party from their own Ship's. by accident, the night being dark, we passed the place of our destination & ran 3 or 4 leagues to leward, by which we were kept beating to windward thro' the night. we found by several circumstances that the Island were alarm'd, particularly by false fires which were very frequent in different places.

Tuesday 5th At day-light we were just abreast the Town, not more than 3 Miles distant, The Fleet hove too & the Captains held a consultation on board the Comodore, at Eight OClk saw several Vessells under way and endeavouring to make their escape. The *Brutus* & *Halker* were sent in chase of them. Finding the Inhabitants to be alarmed, abolished the Idea of surprize, And it was thought eligible to demand a surrender of the Town, which was to be effected by a flag of Truce to the Governor in the name of the Comodore & Major Courtis. in Case of refusal an attack by the Ship's was proposed, and they were accordingly prepared for a Cannonade. About ten OClk the *Brutus* (being at a great distance, and the *Halker* not in sight) displayed a Signal for

¹ Capt. John Carnes.

² Capt. Nathaniel Brookhouse.

³ Capt. Silas Devol.

superior Force, in Consequence of which the former proposals were delayed, And The *Franklin* with our Ship were sent to her relief, soon after which, she doubled a head of Land & we saw no more of her. About noon we passed a nutral harbour on the Island of St Johns, where were several vessells under English Colours, particularly 2 Ships of 24 or 26 Guns each a pilot boat came off, but did not board us. After getting clear of Tortola we hove too in a large Bay (among the Islands) for the Commodore who was to follow us, after discharging the Pilot, Schooner &c. in this Bay we spake One of the Brigg's from Tortola, which the *Halker* had mann'd and Ordered for St Pierre. She mounted 14 Guns & was formerly a Salem privateer called the *Macaroni*. By the Men taken in her we learnt that on the preceeding evening 8 or 10 Liverpool Men had ran from the Harbour in consequence of our appearance, & that the *Brutus*, and *Halker* were gone to lew^d in quest of them. we supposed the vessells which we passed to be a part of them, & that sundry others which we saw to leward at anchor on nutral ground were the remainder, as they display'd English Colours. About 2 OClock the Comodore made his appearance and we found him to be engaged with the 2 Ships, who upon seeing him came to Sail & posted themselves in such a manner that Captain Carnes could not avoid running between them. The fire was warm for a few minutes but the *Porus* had the good fortune not to loose a Man. her standing rigging was much injured & One Shot struck her Hull. so soon as he had passed, the Ships came to an Anchor again under the Danish fort. w^h put it out of our power to revenge the Cause. Upon speaking the *Porus* Captains Duvall & Robinson went on board her & spent an hour. At Evening we made sail to get clear of the Islands, & thus concluded the expedition. In the night we parted Company with the *Franklin*. In an affair of Intrest a plan will generally be condemned or applauded in porportion to the success attending its execution; and among a variety of opinions, of almost every character it must naturally be supposed, that many remarks were made, and reflections cast upon the conduct on this expedition. uninfluenced by the sentiments of any one, I endeavoured to be acquainted with the principle of our undertaking it, and the particular object in view: upon weighing the matter maturely it appears to me, that the failure of the plan proceeded from misinformation rather than from ill-behaviour. Captⁿ Robinson says that before our sailing from Martinico they took every possible method to get authentic intelligence. That the Island of Tortola was represented to be in almost a defenceless state (having but 2 Batteries, of no great consequence) and subject to the command of small Ships & a few men. Under these

circumstances the attempt appeared very eligible, and enquiry was made for a proper Pilot; A Gentleman presented, who profess'd a thorough knowledge, but it proved that he scarcely knew our object from the neighbouring Islands. An old man from S^t Eustatia belonging to the Schooner we detained, was so well acquainted that while we were running to leward in the night he frequently represented the mistake, and offered to carry the Ships to a proper station; and also to accompany the men who landed, & conduct them to the principle & commanding Fort; But the pilot brought from Martinico, was depended upon: And to his ignorance in a very great measure I impute our not succeeding; as the Enemy (judging us to be French Frigates at the distance they saw us at dark) were so much deceived in our force, that had we landed in the night & attack'd the proper posts, in all probability we should have taken the Town; by which I conceive we should have been richly rewarded for the risque. when day light appeared, instead of 2 inconsiderable forts we found that the harbour was regularly fortified, and that Batteries were erected within shot of each other, upon the shore, the whole length of the Island. The inhabitants were collected in the Forts, and they hoisted Colours, which to me wore the appearance of defiance, but to many were only considered as Scare-Crow's, From this presentation I dispaired of doing any thing: And was there any error in judgment, I think it was shewn in the want of system necessary for enterprize; and in the purposal of demanding the surrender of a Town, which to appearance would have resisted, had our force been greatly superior. Upon the whole, weighing the particulars deliberately, I think the *Brutus's* Signal was a fortunate circumstance, as our demand would probably have been rejected, & ridiculed, if not attended with more serious consequences.

That part of Tortola which presented to our view appeared greatly cultivated & in a very flourishing state. The plantations extensive & slaves numerous. The Town is compact, but small; its situation low, & the Air consequently confined by Mountains adjacent, which were exceeding high. The harbour is not large, but from its situation may reasonable be judg'd a place of security, from the severity of bad weather. At each fortified part of the Island were a cluster of Houses, pleasantly situated, which I supposed to be the residence of principle planters: But this description cannot be perfect, as the observations were made in the heighth of Business, when the Enemy's Shott were flying over us. On our retreat the Ships received the fire of the different Batteries wh^h we returned. some of their shott went between our Ship's Mast's, but fortunately did us no damage.

Wednesday 6th At Eleven in the forenoon saw a Sail to Windw^d running for us. At the distance of three Miles she hove too & hoisted English Colours. when we were almost within hail, she made Sail again, we fired several Shott at her, & she struck before the *Porus* came up. She proved the Ship *Suffolk*, 12 Guns, from Liverpool bound to Jamaica, laden with provisions & dry Goods, and commanded by Captain Threlfell,¹ We put M^r Swain on board her as prize Master, directing him to keep us Company. Captain Carnes dined and spent the afternoon on board us.

Thursday 7th Saw a Brigg to windw^d judged the (late) *Macaroni*.

Fryday 8th Towards Evening we fell in with the *Brutus* and *Halker*, but spake neither of them. Captain Carnes spake the *Halker*.

Saturday 9th parted C^o with the *Brutus* and *Halker*. In the afternoon spake the *Porus*. Captain Carnes informed us of the *Halker's* having been engaged with a ship of 16 Guns, which beat her off with considerable damage. the *Brutus* was in sight, but could not get to her assistance.

Sunday 10th At Eight in the morning we spake a large Ship under Sweed's Colour's from Burdeaux, bound to Cape Francois. In the afternoon saw the *Brutus* a great distance a stern. At four p m saw a Sail to Windward, Gave chase, At Eight fired at her, & at 9 spake her. She proved a Schooner from S^t Sabastin's bound the Havannah,

Monday 11th Saw a Sail to Windward, supposed to be the *Brutus*.

Wednesday 13th Captain Carnes, came on board us & spent the afternoon.

Fryday 15th In the forenoon we saw 2 small Vessells to leward. At four p m saw a Sail to windward, fired several Shot at her & at seven spake her, She proved a Briggⁿ from S^t Sabastin's, to the Havannah.

Saturday 16th Captain Carnes spent the afternoon on board our Ship, and Major Courtis and myself visited the Officers of the *Porus*. In the forenoon the *Porus* spake a Flagg of truce from Antigua bound to Saint Thomas's.

Monday 18th In the morning we took our prize in tow.

Tuesday 19th At day light we saw a Sail to Windward, and One to leward, the *porus* chaced to leward, & we spake the weathermost, a large Danish Ship from Copenhagen, bound to S^t Croix. In the afternoon we saw S^t Eustatia, Saba, S^t Christophers, & S^t Martins. In the night we passed a large Ship.

Wednesday 20th In the afternoon we hove too and spake the *Porus* put the prisoners taken from the *Suffolk*, on b^d her. Captain Carnes

¹ This name is obscure.

came on board us and spent an hour, after which we parted Company, he taking the prize under convoy. Saw Nevis, St Bartholomews, & some other Islands at a great distance.

Fryday 22^d passed the Island of Barbuda 2 or 3 leag^s distant.

Saturday 23^d In the morning we saw a Ship to leward, at a great distance. At Evening saw Antegua, the high Land being 10 or 12 Leagues distant.

Sunday 24th At day light saw a Sail to Windward, & gave chase, She proved a Brigg from Brest, bound Gaudiloupe, with public Stores, she informed of having 4 days before parted with a Fleet of 7 Sail of Battle Ships & a large number of Troops, bound to Martinico. passed Gaudiloupe about 6 or 8 Leagues distant.

Monday 25th Towards evening we saw a Sail a great distance to Windward. On the 8th Instant we saw Annegada, which we were several days getting clear of.

Tuesday 26th At Eleven p m saw a Sail close on board us, Spake her, a Danish Snow from Copenhagen bound to Saint-Croix.

Wednesday 27th At day light saw a large Ship to Windward running down, we hove too & prepared for Action, At 7 Spake her, a Dane from Copenhagen bound to Saint Thomas's.

Thursday 28th In the afternoon we were chased by a Ship w^h was judged to have 2 tier of Guns, at Evening lost sight of her. At Eleven p m passed a large Brigg judged to be a British Cruiser.

Fryday 29th Saw Merigalante about 3 leag^s distant. passed close to windward of Descada, saw a Brigg under the Land. In the afternoon Saw 2 Sail to Leward, One called the Ship which chased us Yesterday.

Saturday 30th Saw the large Ship to leward the greater part of the day. In the former part of the night, we were chased by a Ship supposed to be an English Man of war.

Sunday 31st Towards Evening saw a large Ship to lew^d In the night saw a large Sail upon our weather Bow, we wore Ship & made Sail from her.

1782 APRIL

Wednesday 3^d At Eight in the morning saw a Sail a head steer^s for Barbadoes, about 4 leag^s to lew^d, Gave chase but finding her an Armed Ship (and judged to be a packet) Captain Robinson imagined she would endeavour to fight her way to the land, & we therefore hauld our Wind: being not more than 5 or 6 Miles from the Shore.

Saturday 6th At 7 in the morning we saw a Sail to Windw^d and gave chase. At Eight saw 2 Sail to Windward in chase of us. We were almost

in Shot of our object, when we found the other Vessells were Frigates & gained fast upon us. we bore away & spread our Canvas. The smallest of the 2 spake our chace, The other kept pressing for us & held way with us untill Evening when we fortunately & unexpectedly lost sight of her; & her Concert who had followed her. we afterwards learnt that The Vessell we chaced was loaded with Wines for Barbadoes. & that the Frigates were The *Fortune* of 40 & the *Pegasus* of 28 Guns belonging to his Brittainic Majesty.

Monday 8th In the morning we saw 2 Ships to Windward under easy sail, which put us upon our guard. In the afternoon passed to leward of Barbadoes, and so near the land as afforded a view of Bridge-Town, & the Vessells in the harbour, several of them appearing to be large Ships.

Tuesday 9th In the forenoon saw Saint Lucia, & Martinico. Saw several small Vessells in the course of the day. At ten in the Evening came to an Anchor in Saint Pierre's harbour. Captain Robinson & myself went on shore, we received information of the Arival of our prize Ship *Suffolk*, at the Island of St Christophers and that Captⁿ Carnes had taken upon himself the Agency of her. The *Porus* had arived & was at Fort Royal & there were several American's in this port. Yesterday the Count De Grass sailed from Fort Royal with his Squadron, and Admiral Rodney with the English Fleet was close in with Martinico when the Count sailed. The sight of these fleets were said to be the most formidable ever known in these Sea's. during our tarry here I heard the melancholy account of my Uncle's death by Captain Darby from Salem in the Ship *Patty*. Several Americans, having been exchanged, arived from Barbadoes & other English Islands, particularly Captain Parker & his Officers, by whome we learnt that the *Scourge* fell a prey to the *Prothee* a 64 Gun Ship.

1782 MAY

May, Fryday 3^d At 6 p m we came to sail and bid adieu to Martinico; having so far settled our Business as circumstances would permit, and prepared for a Cruize of four Months.

Sunday 5. At Eight in the morning we came to an Anchor in the harbour of Basseterre, on the Island of Saint Christophers, to know the state of the *Suffolks* accompts, but we got no satisfaction respecting them. Spent the day very cheerfully in seeing Fashions.

Monday 6th At ten in the forenoon we got under way & for some time run along shore. On meridian we passed within Shot of the celebrated Garrison on Brimstone hill; which appears to have been made impregnable by Nature, independent of the visible exertions of Art to increase

its Strength. In the afternoon we passed so near the Town on Saint Eustatia as afforded a sufficient opportunity of viewing its Fortifications &c. saw Saint Bartholomews, Saba & S^t Martins. Just at Evening saw a Ship in chase of us.

From an acquaintance with one of the West India Islands it appears to me that, making proper allowances for extent of Territory & number of Inhabitants, a general Idea of the whole may be formed. A distant prospect of the plantations is really delightful: The mind is at once presented with variety & regularity. Eminences which to appearance are almost inaccessible demonstrate every mark of industry; And their adjacent plains are cultivated with equal attention. The Town of Saint Pierre, near two miles in length, is situated under a chain of mountains (whose height obstruct the clouds in their progress) which naturally retards a circulation of free air, and renders it entirely subject to the intense heat of the climate. There are two principle streets; One upon the Bay, which is the seat of Business, and the other (by much the most pleasant) is directly above it. a communication is formed by frequent cross-streets which extend from the water to the mountains back of the Town in the rear and at the extremities are several streets, or lanes of less consequence. the whole are well paved and in the center of each runs a continual stream of fresh water, from the Hills; the advantages of which may easily be delineated in the mind; as it greatly tends to preserve cleanliness, which in every particular is sacredly attended to. The Houses are compact, and are generally built upon One plan, when convenience seems to have been considered before Elegance; though, as in all other places, those of the first families may be distinguished. There are no other public amusements then the plays, which I frequented, with no other advantage then pleasing the Eye with the elegance of Dress, and artificial Beauty — too common among the Ladies. The Inhabitants are numerous, Industrious, and of a variety of complexions. I had but very little opportunity of knowing them, their language being unintelligible; But the Laws, Manners, & Customs, I judged to be similar to French Men in every part of their territories.

The town of Basseterre is much more pleasantly situated then S^t Pierre, by reason of a free circulation of fresh Air, The Houses are not so numerous, or so well built, but much more elegantly furnished. The Streets are not regular and so exceedingly dusty as to render walking very disagreeable. Our short stay rendered particular observation impossible; but from the reception we met with, & the treatment we received I imagine a month might have passed agreeably: the manners of

the Inhabit^{ts} resembl'ing our own, & the language being inteligible to each other.

Tuesday 7th in the morning we passed Sambarara, 3 leag^s to W^d

Thursday 9th At day-light saw a small Sloop a head, & at 7 OClk spake her, She was from Bermuda b^d to Antigua. Captain Robinson had determined to burn her: But she had a passenger on board her, by the name of Bonetheau, who owned her, & represented to have fled from Charlestown S^o Carolina, to escape the cruelty of the Enemy. under these circumstances She was permitted to pursue her voige, and the Gentleman taken on board our Ship.

Wednesday 15th Sounded & got Bottom on the Coast of S^o Carolina.

Thursday 16th Saw the Land, from the Mast head, & a Schooner judged to be a pilot-boat. In the afternoon we hove too and caught a large quantity of black-Fish.

Fryday 17th At Eight in the morning we spake a Brigg^a proving a Carteel from Charlestown, bound to y^e Havannah. Ran in with the Land, and just at Evening we were so near the Bar, as plainly to distinguish the steeples, and Vessells in Charlestown road. Saw several Vessells near the Land; particularly One which gave us chace.

Saturday 18th In the morning found the Ship we saw the last evening to be still in chace of us. At five p m we bore away to look at her & judged her to be a Sloop of War, of 18 Guns.

Monday 20th At 3 p m saw a small Vessel to leward; at five p m saw a Sail a head, and gave chace, at 7 fired 2 Shott at her, & she hove too. The Sloop *Sally* a prize to His Brittainic Majesty's Ship *Garland*, when taken from New Haven bound to the Havannah. took M^r Smith, a midshipman, out of her, and dispatched her for Beverly in charge of M^r Nothey prize Master. M^r Smith's destination was Charlestown,

Tuesday 21st At day light saw a Sail, and gave chace, At One spake her after firing several shott at her. She proved a pilot boat Schooner, prize to the S^o Carolina Frigate, The Midshipman who had charge of her spent an hour on board us. She being bound to George-town, we put M^r Bonetheau on board her by his own request.

Fryday 24, At nine AM saw a Sail to leward & gave chace. At ten saw another Sail, which by her movements we supposed to be a Cruizer. (She was a Small Schooner.) we continued our chace through the night.

Saturday 25th Fired several Shott at her; At One p m she hove too, She proved a Schooner from Edington, N, Carolina, bound to France. They threw their Guns & some other matters overboard for the purpose of escaping. About ten in the forenoon saw a Schooner, running athwart us, in the afternoon lost sight of her.

Sunday 26th Towards Evening chased a Vessel; at dark lost her.

Tuesday 28th At Eight in the morning spake the Sloop *Polly* from Nantucket on a Whaleing voige, they had 2 large Fish along side & had caught 2 Others, we saw great numbers of Whales in the course of the day, some of them came so near as to strike our Ship. Saw 2 Sails supposed to be Whalers.

Wednesday 29th Saw 2 Sail in the afternoon, but did not chase.

1782 JUNE

June. Saturday 1st At 7 in the morning saw a Sail to leward, Gave chase the Wind blowing hard; At five p m the chase carried away her Fore top Mast & hove too; She proved to be y^e Brigg *Marquis De Lafiatte* from Grenada bound to Portsmouth New Hampshire. Just at Evening saw a Brigg to Windward.

Sunday 2^d At noon saw a Sail to Windward, Gave chase, & at Mid-night spake her, after firing two Shott at her, She proved a Brigg from Newbury bound to Martinico.

Tuesday 4th At ten AM saw a Sail & gave chase. fired 2 Shott at her. At five p m spake her, she proved to be the Brigg *Neptune* from Hallifax bound to the Island of Antigua. put M^r Rand on board her as prize Master and sent her for Beverly.

Fryday 7th At Six p m sounded in 45 fathom on the Grand-bank.

Saturday 8th Hove too and caught Cod-Fish.

Sunday 9th Caught Fish plentifully. passed 2 Is^{ds} of Ice.

Monday 10th passed a very large Body of Ice, about 2 Miles under our lee. it was judged to be 2 or 3 miles in length & as high as our Mast head.

Monday 17th At one p m saw a Sail running for us. At 3 spake her. The Brigg *Apledore* from Europe bound to Newfoundland laden with Prov^s and commanded by Captain Limbree by whome we received in-telegence of a Fleet for Quebec, which he parted with in bad weather on the 2^d of last month. put M^r Hibbert on board the prize & ordered her for Beverly. At six pm saw a Sail a head & gave chase.

Tuesday 18th At Eight in the morning spake our chase, She prov^d the Brigg *Beaton*, (of the Fleet) from London b^d to Quebec laden with Spirituous liquors, &c, and commanded to Captain Burne. put M^r Banning on board her and dispatched her for Beverly. A heavy Gale, & labouring Seas.

Sunday 23^d On Meridian saw Newf^dLand 8 or 10 leag^s Dis^t.

Monday 24th At noon saw three Sail in chase of us, 2 of [them]

came up with us very fast but at Evening they hove too. we judged them to be British men of war from S^t Johns, cruizing for the protection of the expected Fleet. The wind blew very fresh while they were in Chace.

Thursday 27th At Evening we hove too, and caught a Cod-Fish.

Fryday 28th Saw several large Bodies of Ice, passed near 2 of them.

1782 JULY

Wednesday 3^d At day light saw a Ship to leward, which we supposed was an English Man of War. She chaced us two or three hours. At Evening hove too and caught Fish.

Fryday 5th Just at Evening saw a Sail upon our wea^r bow.

Saturday 6th At day light saw a Briggⁿ to Windward, judged to be one of our own countrymen. gave chace but for the want of wind we could not catch her. At 4 p m saw Cape Breton 4 or 6 leag^s dis^t At six p m hove too and caught Fish in great abundance.

Sunday 7th At five p m saw a Sloop to Windward, running for us untill one mile distant, when she hauld by the wind. Being close in with the Isles of Canso, and among dangerous rocks we could not get at her, but we found her to be a Cruizer of 12 Guns.

Monday 8th In the afternoon we saw the Sloop, gave chace, fired several Shot at her and at 4 p m spake her, The *Rainbow* Captain Webb from Salem on a Cruize, out 6 weeks, and having taken 3 prizes. Capt. Webb supp'd on board our Ship.

Tuesday 9th In the morning we bore away for the harbour of Canso, but passed it by reason of very hazy weath^r and the want of experienced pilots, at three p m we came to an Anchor in Gabaruse-Bay. Captain Robinson supp'd and spent the Evening on board the *Rainbow*, she being at Anchor near us.

Wednesday 10th Spent the forenoon on Shore, but saw nothing in my ramble worth very particular notice. We ran 4 or 5 leag^s up this convenient harbour; and were almost land-lock'd. Our Business was to replenish the Ships Wood and Water which we accomplished without the least difficulty, finding them both at hand. The land like all other unfrequented tracts, totally uncultivated, but not mountainous, and subject to improvement without great fatigue. I was told by an officer of the Sloop that about five Years since there were sundry habitations near the place of our landing, which were destroyed by an American Cruizer to which he belonged. Upon a Bank near the Shore we found Strawberries in their bloom, in the greatest abundance, which were very acceptable, particularly to our Sick.

At $\frac{1}{2}$ past three p m we came to Sail, and about seven passed the harbour of Louisbourg. We had no prospect of the City; but the marks of ancient war; Block Houses, Barracks, the reliques of Fortifications, and the landing places of Generals Amherst & Wolf on their expedition, were very conspicuous in its vicinity. Several Cattle were seen feeding in the fields, and we likewise saw sundry persons on a small eminence viewing us as we passed.

Almost every part of the Island of Cape Breton (as well as the spot on which we landed) that presented to our view, appeared to be pleasantly situated, and very conveniently calculated for tillage.

Thursday 11th At Eight in the morning we saw two Sail, and gave chase: but by reason of calm weather & their rowing we did not speak them. They we supposed to be small American Cruizers, we having been informed that several are on this coast by Captⁿ Webb, who supped and spent the Evening with us.

Fryday 12th In the night we parted company with Captⁿ Webb.

Saturday 13th At One p m saw a Sail and gave chase. at four we fired several shot at her, but by reason of light Winds, which gave her the advantage of rowing in among the ledges on Nova Scotia shore, we could not catch her. at five we hauld our Wind, the land being near 2 Miles distant. found the chase to be a small Schooner & supposed her an Amerⁿ Cruizer.

Thursday 18th In the morning being but a short distance from the shore we saw a small Sail and gave chase. On meridian a perfect calm, we hove too off the harbour of Liverpool & sent our Yawl to speak the chase (finding her to be nothing more then a fishing boat) but she returned at four p m without having accomplished the Business, the wind breezing up. Sundry Houses & farm's might be seen on the Bay, but a prospect of the Town was cut of by the depth of the harbour. several heavy Guns were fired from a Fort, which we judged were Signals. Just at Evening saw 4 or 5 small craft along shore.

Fryday 19th At nine a m saw a Sail and gave chase. On Meridian spake her, a small schooner from Hallifax in a set of ballast. At four p m put all our prisoners on board her, taking their parole.

Saturday 20th At Eight in the morning we saw a Sail and gave chase the wind blowing very fresh. At four p m the Chace ran into port-matoon, we prepared for Action, ranged close along side her and let go our best Bower. She proved the Ship *William* from Bilboa bound to Newbury shewing 16 Guns and com^d by Captain Row. at five p m we both hove up & came to sail, and in the night we parted Comp^y. The harbour being land-lock'd seems to be a very commodious one, and

affords a prospect truly rural. in it are several very small Islands & in the passage into it are some dangerous rocks. I was told that there are sundry houses at the head of it, but only one, with an adjacent farm presented to our view.

Sunday 21st At day light saw a small Sail to leward & the Ship still farther under our lee.

Monday 22^d Just at Sun set saw a Sail, which we supposed was a Ship, she passed us to Windward in the Even^g.

Tuesday 23^d At 6 in the morning saw Cape-Ann under our lee, and at Noon we came to an Anchor in Beverly harbour (being announced of none of our prizes as yet, except the Brigg *Neptune*) to the no small satisfaction of a Ships Company murmuring at the frowns of Fortune.

Pilgrims Officers, 1782

Joseph Robinson	Captain
Richard Whellen	1 st Lieu ^t
William Courtis	2 ^d Lieu ^t
John Juliker ¹	Master
Jon ^a Dorby Robins	Off ^r Marines
J B	Surgeon
Robert Berkley	Surg ^a Mate

¹ Perhaps identical with John Guliker (Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War, vi. 947).

JANUARY MEETING, 1923

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 25 January, 1923, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Mr. JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL and Mr. ARTHUR STANWOOD PIER, accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK of Brookline was elected a Resident Member.

Mr. LAWRENCE S. MAYO read a paper on "Peter Livius the Trouble-maker," speaking in substance as follows:¹

Among the "Langdon Papers" in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is the family record of Peter Lewis Levius, begun in the first half of the eighteenth century. The chronicler was the father of Peter Livius, who was a conspicuous figure in the history of New Hampshire in the decade prior to the outbreak of the American Revolution. Livius's attempt to oust John Wentworth from the governorship of New Hampshire led Belknap to mention his name in his History of New Hampshire, but his origin and earlier days have been largely a matter of conjecture. In Brewster's Rambles about Portsmouth, for instance, Bedford, England, is given as the place of his birth, and 1727 as the

¹ Mr. Mayo's paper will be printed in full in the Granite Monthly for February, 1923.

year. Furthermore, Brewster states that he came "of a Saxon family of distinction," while Belknap is content with the more guarded observation that he was "a gentleman of foreign extraction."

According to the family record Peter Livius was born at Lisbon, Portugal, July 12, 1739. His father was a German and his paternal ancestors had lived in or near Hamburg for many generations. His mother was either English or Irish. She was Susanna Humphry, and her birth-place was Waterford in the south of Ireland. Why the elder Livius migrated to Lisbon is not clear, but one gathers that he became a merchant there. Before he was six years old young Peter Livius was taken to England and "put to school at Mr. Sherondel's at Chelsea." There he remained until he was fourteen, returning to his family in Lisbon in April, 1754. In the following autumn he entered upon a five-year apprenticeship with Messrs. Dea & Company in his native city. The Lisbon earthquake occurred about a year later, and the offices of Messrs. Dea & Company were destroyed in the consequent fire. In the spring of 1756 they resumed business — and Peter Livius with them — "at Alcantara, near Lisbon." Here, on April 4, 1756, the family record ends, as far as Peter is concerned.

Seven years later — in the summer of 1763 — Peter Livius turns up in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, having married in the meantime Miss Anne Elizabeth Mason.¹ She was one of the daughters of Colonel John Tufton Mason, the hereditary proprietor of New Hampshire who had sold his ancient and dubious territorial claim in the 1740's. According to local tradition Mr. Livius cut quite a figure in the provincial capital. He rode in a coach, resided in a painted house, and owned a country-seat at Tuftonborough on the shore of Lake Winnepesaukee.² In 1764 he responded to Harvard College's appeal for aid by giving some books.³ That was the year of the burning of Harvard Hall. The College did not forget his generosity, and three years later conferred upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts. Although Livius's academic education seems to have been slight, he probably possessed a good

¹ Cf. J. W. Dean, *Capt. John Mason (Prince Society)*, pp. 41, 43.

² Brewster, *Rambles about Portsmouth*, ii. 78, i. 131; *Granite Monthly*, v. 194, x. 218.

³ Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, ii. 491.

mind, for Governor John Wentworth refers to him as "a learned man."¹

In 1765 Peter Livius became a member of the Council. About this time he began to acquire a reputation for sharp practice in business transactions. If certain affidavits are good evidence, his attempts to defraud friends and family connections were outrageous.² As an administrator of justice, too, he soon earned a bad name. Probably it was Benning Wentworth who appointed him a justice of the Court of Common Pleas. We know that it was Governor John Wentworth who dropped him from the judiciary when the province was divided into counties in 1771. Here again there are affidavits, and they seem to prove that as a judge Livius was remarkable chiefly for his partiality.³ In 1771 Livius began the controversy with John Wentworth which he intended should bring about the latter's downfall. He carried the case to England and all but succeeded. Ultimately the Privy Council sustained Wentworth, but it was a close call. Indeed it is doubtful if Lord Dartmouth was convinced by the decision, for he soon afterward issued a warrant appointing Livius chief justice of New Hampshire.⁴ Fortunately he was persuaded to retract this step before it took effect.

Peter Livius did not return to New Hampshire in any capacity. Instead he read law at the Middle Temple, and was admitted to the English bar in 1775. Meanwhile, in April, 1773, he had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.⁵ In 1775 Oxford gave him the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law. In that same year he was sent out to Quebec as a judge of the Court of Common Pleas.⁶

Soon after Livius arrived at Quebec the town was besieged by the Americans under Montgomery and Arnold. In the assault which cost Montgomery his life a number of Americans were captured. Among them was Captain Henry Dearborn of Nottingham, New Hampshire, who later became General Dearborn and Jefferson's Secretary of War. Livius befriended him, and at the same time

¹ John Wentworth to Durand & Bacon, July 17, 1769.

² Collections New Hampshire Historical Society, ix. 306-310.

³ Id. ix. 336-337, 343-344, 350-351.

⁴ L. S. Mayo, John Wentworth, pp. 73-86.

⁵ Record of the Royal Society (London, 1912), p. 357.

⁶ Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth, ii. 400.

suggested that he would try to obtain permission for him to return to his home on parole, if Dearborn would agree to do his best to persuade the revolutionary authorities of New Hampshire to allow Mrs. Livius and the four children to come to him at Quebec.¹ The arrangement was carried out by both parties. Dearborn returned to Nottingham, and through his influence the Livius family were permitted to board the schooner Polly and to depart from Portsmouth in peace in July, 1776.² Local tradition has it that Mrs. Livius paid off some debts with her furniture, and left the family bible at the house of a near neighbor.³ There the book remained for almost a century. Did the Livius household record, which is so mysteriously and inappropriately included among the "Langdon Papers" at Philadelphia, come out of this bible?

In June, 1777, a letter attributed to Peter Livius was removed from the false bottom of a canteen and read by General Schuyler at Fort Edward. It was addressed to General John Sullivan and its purpose was to induce him to abandon the American cause.⁴

At this point Livius drops out of New Hampshire history, but the glimpses we get of him at Quebec are reminiscent of his career at Portsmouth. In 1776 he was appointed chief justice of the province and a member of the Council *ex officio*. For the sake of efficient administration Sir Guy Carleton, the governor, created an executive committee of the Council, which virtually took the place of the larger board. With the help of this committee Carleton carried Canada safely through a critical period, — but he did not include Livius among its members. It is not surprising, therefore, that in 1778 Livius attacked the legality of the executive committee and demanded immediate remedy. Carleton, who had already resigned, was disgusted. He removed Livius from the judiciary and hence from the Council. Livius went to England and presented his case against Governor Carleton. Lord George Germain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, had no love for Carleton, and Carleton's antipathy for him was well known. Perhaps these were among the reasons that led Carleton to decline to defend his course before the

¹ 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, ii. 296, 299.

² New Hampshire State Papers, viii. 313.

³ Brewster, Rambles about Portsmouth, ii. 83.

⁴ Farmer and Moore, Historical Collections, ii. 204-207.

Board of Trade. However that may have been, Livius was sustained and the office of chief justice was restored to him with extended powers.¹

In spite of his good fortune in this controversy Livius was peculiarly reluctant to return to Canada. In fact he never returned. On one pretext or another he remained in England, enjoying at least half of the salary of his office while its duties were performed by others. This agreeable arrangement, which was largely due to the indulgence of Lord George Germain, continued until 1786, a period of eight years.² Then not only was Livius superseded, but General Carleton, now Lord Dorchester, returned to Canada as governor of Quebec. Nine years later the Gentleman's Magazine, under date of July 23, 1795, recorded among other recent deaths — "On his way to Brighthelmstone, Peter Livius, esq. late chief justice of Canada."³

MR. PERCIVAL MERRITT read the following:

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON "AN ACCOUNT OF THE CONVERSION OF THE REV. JOHN THAYER"

As a preliminary to the bibliographical notes on Thayer's Account of his Conversion, a few biographical notes in regard to the author himself seem desirable. John Thayer, the fourth son of Cornelius and Sarah (Plaisted) Thayer, was born in Boston, May 15, 1758. His college education was obtained at Yale College, which he entered with the class of 1778. He did not graduate in course, but received an honorary degree of A.B. at the Commencement in 1779. He is supposed to have pursued his theological studies in Boston

¹ Kingsford, History of Canada, vi. 464-468; Short and Doughty, Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, ii. 698-704.

² Kingsford, History of Canada, vi. 468-471, vii. 198.

³ Mr. William A. Hayes 2nd, of Cambridge, owns an engraving of Peter Livius which bears the following inscription:

Peter Livius, now Chief Justice of Quebec.

Bonus atque fidus
Judex honestum praetulit utile
Et per obstantes catervas
Explicuit sua Victor arma.

under the Rev. Charles Chauncy and to have received a licence to preach, although he was not regularly settled over any Congregational church. From August, 1780, to May, 1781, he served as chaplain at Castle William, enrolled in Capt.-Lieut. William Burbeck's company under command of His Excellency the Governor. This fact accounts for frequent references to his having been John Hancock's private chaplain. After the conclusion of his service at the Castle he went to Europe, arriving in France at the end of 1781. In the following year he spent some months in England, where he was invited to preach. He then returned to France and from there went on to Rome.

While at Rome he was in the habit of frequently meeting with two Jesuit priests, and discussing and studying with them questions of religious belief and practices. Eventually by reason of his investigations and reading, as well as by his personal knowledge of a miraculous cure effected by the Venerable Benedict Labre, he became a convert and publicly conformed to the Church on May 25, 1783. After his return to France, having decided to adopt the ecclesiastical state, he entered the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice in Paris. On June 2, 1787, he was ordained priest for service in the mission of the United States. His return to his native land was somewhat delayed, but about the middle of December, 1789, he landed at Baltimore and soon proceeded to Boston, where he arrived in the first week of January, 1790. On Sunday, January 10, he officiated for the first time at the Church of the Holy Cross on School Street, then under the charge of a French priest, the Abbé Louis de Rousselet. Some difficulties and a division soon arose in the church which were finally settled in June, 1791, by the appointment of Father Thayer as sole pastor. In August, 1792, he was himself superseded through the appointment of the venerated Dr. Francis A. Matignon, by Bishop Carroll, to the charge of the Boston church.

Thayer now appears to have served for some years as a missionary to the small bodies of Catholics in the various New England towns, both before and after his assignment by the Bishop to a mission at Alexandria, Virginia, where he was located for nearly three years, 1793 to 1796. In 1799 he was sent by Bishop Carroll to assist in the missions in Kentucky and remained there about four years.

AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
CONVERSION

OF THE REVEREND
MR. JOHN THAYER,

LATELY A
PROTESTANT MINISTER,
AT BOSTON IN NORTH AMERICA,

Who embraced the ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION at
Rome, on the 23rd of MAY, 1783;

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

TO WHICH ARE ANNEXED

SEVERAL EXTRACTS

FROM A

LETTER WRITTEN TO HIS BROTHER,
IN ANSWER TO SOME OBJECTIONS.

A L S O,

A LETTER from a YOUNG LADY lately received by
him into the Church, written after making her first
Communion.

Misericordias Domini in eternum cantabo.

I will sing the Mercies of the Lord for ever.

PL. LXXXIX. 2.

THE SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed by J. P. COCHLAN, No. 37,
Duke-Street, near Grofvenor-Square: And Sold
by P. BYRNZ, Grafton-Street, Dublin,

M DCC LXXXVII.

AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
CONVERSION

OF THE REVEREND
MR. JOHN THAYER,

LATELY A
PROTESTANT MINISTER,
AT BOSTON IN NORTH AMERICA,

Who embraced the ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION at
Rome, on the 23rd of MAY, 1783;

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

TO WHICH IS ADDED A

LETTER WRITTEN TO HIS BROTHER,
IN ANSWER TO SOME OBJECTIONS.

A L S O,

A LETTER from a YOUNG LADY lately received by
him into the Church, written after making her first
Communion.

Misericordias Domini in eternum cantabo.

I will sing the Mercies of the Lord for ever.

PL. LXXXIX. 2.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed by J. P. COCHLAN, No. 37, Duke-Street,
Grofvenor-Square: And Sold by P. BYRNZ, Grafton-
Street, Dublin.

M DCC LXXXVIII.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE
CONVERSION

OF THE
REV. MR. JOHN THAYER,

LATELY A

PROTESTANT MINISTER,

AT BOSTON, IN NORTH AMERICA,

Who embraced the *Roman Catholic Religion* at Rome,
on the 25th of MAY, 1783;

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

TO WHICH ARE ANNEXED

SEVERAL EXTRACTS

FROM A

LETTER WRITTEN TO HIS BROTHER, IN
ANSWER TO SOME OBJECTIONS.

ALSO,

A LETTER from a YOUNG LADY lately received
by him into the Church, written after making
her first Communion.

W. T. P.

The Addition of two Letters, extracted from the
Life of BENEDICT JOSEPH LABRE.

THE THIRD EDITION.

MANCHESTER:

PRINTED BY G. SWINDELLS, AND SOLD BY T.
SMITHURST, AND R. MARSH, BANK-TOP.

(PRICE SIX-PENCE.)

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

CONVERSION

OF THE REVEREND

MR. JOHN THAYER,

LATELY A

PROTESTANT MINISTER,

AT BOSTON IN NORTH-AMERICA,

Who embraced the ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION at
ROME, on the 25th of MAY, 1783;

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

TO WHICH ARE ANNEXED

SEVERAL EXTRACTS

FROM A

LETTER WRITTEN TO HIS BROTHER, IN AN-
SWER TO SOME OBJECTIONS.

ALSO,

A LETTER from a YOUNG LADY lately received by him
into the Church, written after making her first Communion,

Miserordias Domini in eternum cruciatur.

It will sing the Mercies of the Lord for ever.

PL. LXXIX. 1.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

BALTIMORE: Reprinted (from the London Edition) and
sold by WILLIAM GODDARD.

MDCCLXXXVIII.

In 1803 he returned to Europe and probably passed the rest of his life in Ireland, where he died at Limerick, February 17, 1815.

Within a few months after Thayer's ordination to the priesthood in June, 1787, his *Account of his Conversion* was published in London. The Rev. François Charles Nagot, Director of the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice, in a letter dated Paris, 28 September, 1790, giving some account of Thayer, states that shortly after his ordination he went to London and remained there about three months, but was again in Paris by November, 1787.¹ It must have been during his stay in London, perhaps in the month of September, that the first edition of the *Conversion* appeared. It is probable that it ran through four editions there before it was published in Paris, as the London fifth edition is dated 1788.²

A brief collation of the earliest known edition, the second, London, 1787, will show what is commonly, though not invariably, to be found in the various editions:³

Title-page, 1 leaf; *Account of Conversion*, dated "London Aug. 24, 1787. John Thayer," pp. [1]-36; Letter to his brother, dated "Paris, ———, 1787, J. Thayer," and addressed to "Mr. Nath. Thayer, Queen-Street, Boston, in America,"⁴ pp. [37]-60; "A LETTER from a YOUNG LADY lately received by him into the Church," signed "Your grateful Servant. Aug. 16, 1787," pp. 61-66.

At the beginning of the *Account* he wrote:

Both my conversion, and my solemn abjuration at Rome, were public. Passing afterwards into France, I related my story, or rather that of Divine Providence in my regard, to a great number of respectable persons, who wished to learn the particulars of it. I was afterwards strongly

¹ Letter cited from Räss, *Die Convertiten seit der Reformation*, Freiburg, 1871, x. 341-358. I have not succeeded in finding a copy of this letter in French.

² In the preface to the English-Portuguese edition, Lisbon, 1788, the editor and translator refers to the *Conversion* as having already passed through four editions in London. (See p. 138 note c, below.)

³ I am much indebted to Mr. Worthington C. Ford for procuring for me the opportunity of examining this edition before it came into the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and also for photostats of title-pages of several other rare editions. The second London edition and several other editions were given to the Massachusetts Historical Society by our associate Mr. John E. Thayer.

⁴ In the Paris first edition the letter is signed and addressed: "Thayer, A Paris, ce 1 Mai 1787, Au Séminaire de S. Sulpice." "à M. Nathaneal Thayer, Boston."

solicited by some friends, to send it to the press, for the edification of Christians, and for the greater glory of God. Yielding to their reasons, and their authority, I now, *by their advice*, give it both in English and French, in favor of those who only understand one of these languages.

The first edition in French was issued at Paris in 1788. The Approbation of the censor is dated and signed: "A Paris, ce 20 Novembre 1787. L. de Montis, Docteur en Théologie." Presumably the book appeared early in the year 1788, unless it was advance-dated. In the prefatory note to the "Lettre D'une jeune Demoiselle de Londres, nouvellement convertie," Thayer wrote: "on a jugé à-propos de la rendre publique à Paris comme elle l'est à Londres."¹

In the Account itself Thayer made acknowledgment of the assistance which he had received in preparing the French edition for the press: "Quant au François qui ne m'est pas encore bien familier, j'avoue que j'ai été obligé d'emprunter du secours & de faire retoucher mon style trop incorrect."²

The letter to his brother appears here to have been printed in full instead of in the form of "several extracts" as stated on the title-page of the English second edition. It is considerably longer and contains a preamble and twenty-five sections, the increase in numbers arising partly from a sub-division of some of the sections and partly by the introduction of new material.³

The Conversion now passed through a number of editions in various languages. In Portuguese and English, Lisbon, 1788;⁴ in Spanish, Barcelona, and Valencia, 1788; in English, Baltimore, 1788; and in new editions at London and Paris, 1788. In 1790 it was published in German;⁵ in 1791 in French at Quebec; and in

¹ In the English edition this sentence reads only: "he has thought proper to render it publick."

² Conversion, Paris edition, p. 4.

³ The London second edition has nine sections only. In the London fifth edition (1788), the sixth edition (1791), the Dublin edition (1809), and the Hartford edition (1832), the letter has a postscript. In the Paris first edition it is found in substance, but not exactly, in the twenty-first section.

⁴ This edition was translated from an English edition, prior to the London fifth of 1788, and has the title-page and preface in both languages, as well as the text.

⁵ This edition contains an amusing footnote in elucidation of Thayer's reference to his birthplace: "(b) Boston, Nevv London, schöne befestigte Stadt in Nord-

1794 in Latin at Münster. It also appeared in an Italian edition of which, as yet, no copy has been found.¹ For a time, at least, it proceeded along two different lines so far as Thayer's letter to his brother was concerned. The Lisbon, Manchester, Baltimore, and Wilmington, N. C., editions followed the early English editions. The other Continental editions, the London fifth (1788), and the subsequent editions in English, followed the Paris first edition. They can be easily differentiated by the number of sections, the first line having nine sections, and the second ranging from thirteen to twenty-five numbered sections. The Quebec edition does not contain the letter to Nathaniel Thayer, nor the letter from the young English convert, but it has in place of them the letter of the Rev. François Charles Nagot which is referred to above.²

On the title-pages of the various editions there is a bibliographical peculiarity in the citation of the verse from the Psalms: "Misericordias Domini in aeternum cantabo." In the London second edition, and the editions which follow it, except the Lisbon (1788), it is cited as: "Ps. lxxxix. 1." In the Paris first, and editions which follow that, with the exception of the London fifth and sixth, and Dublin (1809) editions, which read 89.1, it is cited: "Ps. 88.1." The Münster edition (1794) and Hartford edition (1832) do not cite it at all.

Amerika, in Neu-England, nebst einem guten Hafen an dem Meer von Canada. Sie treibt einen großen Handel nach Barbados, mit Stodfischen, Bretern, Eisen, wöllenen Tuch und Leinwand. Sie wird in denen Charten unrecht Briftow genennet" (pp. 43, 44).

¹ A personal search among antiquarian book-dealers and in libraries in Florence and Rome, including the Vatican library, failed to locate a copy. In fact only one copy was found in any language, the Paris first edition in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

² I am indebted to M. Aegidius Fauteux, Librarian of the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montreal, for the information in regard to this edition, as well as for other most valuable information. The collation of the edition is: Title-page, 1 leaf; Thayer's Account, unsigned, undated, pp. [3]-29; Lettre où l'on rapporte ce que Mr. Thayer a fait de plus remarquable depuis son départ de Rome pour Paris, jusqu'à son embarquement pour Boston, et depuis son arrivée dans cette ville jusqu'à présent. A Paris, ce 28 Septembre, 1790, pp. 30-63. M. Fauteux states that this letter is not signed, but from internal evidence it appears to have been written by the Rev. Mr. Nagot; and adds, "The text of the letter shows that the author was the Superior of Le Petit Séminaire of Paris at the time of Mr. Thayer's arrival in that city from Rome and we know that the Superior from 1783 to 1789 was Mr. Nagot. In 1789, Mr. Nagot was appointed Director of the Grand Seminary and he occupied that position until his departure for America on April 21st 1791."

In the Barcelona and German editions it appears on the verso of the title-pages. The Lisbon edition (1788) cites 88.1. The reason for this variation is that the London second follows the numbering of the Psalms in the King James Bible, and the Paris first the numbering in the Douay Bible.

The vitality, and value as a tract, of Thayer's Conversion is shown by its repeated re-issue, both as a separate publication and in connection with accounts of other notable instances of conversion, for nearly a century. The latest example of its use as a tract which I have seen is in a pamphlet published by the Catholic Truth Society of London in 1897: "A New-England Convert or The Story of the Rev. John Thayer," by the Rev. T. E. Bridgett. The first part of this pamphlet is based on the Account itself, from which long quotations are made.

The Harvard College Library possesses a manuscript copy of the Conversion which was bought by the late Professor Charles F. Dunbar and presented to the Library May 12, 1892. It contains also Thayer's letter to his brother but not the letter of the "*jeune Demoiselle de Londres*."¹ On the title-page are the words: "*Ecrité par lui-même en 1788.*" It would seem that the manuscript had been represented as written by Thayer himself, for a letter from the Rev. Arthur T. Connolly to Justin Winsor, then Librarian, is bound in with it, in which he expresses the opinion that it "is only a translation" and offers to send specimens of Thayer's handwriting for purpose of comparison.² As a matter of fact the words "Written by himself" appear on all title-pages in the various languages. The date 1788 was probably added by the copyist, or some one else, though why the Conversion should have been written out by hand in 1788 is not obvious. Both the Massachusetts Historical Society and the College Library now have photostatic copies of an autograph letter of Thayer, written in 1790, and a comparison of the letter with the manuscript shows clearly that the latter was not Thayer's work.

¹ Following Thayer's letter to his brother is a single leaf signed "J. Thayer, Paris Mars 3 88" apparently the end of a letter, of which the preceding leaf or leaves are lacking. It refers to conditions in the city of London, and to his practices as a Catholic when there.

² Father Connolly published an "Historical Sketch of the Rev. John Thayer" in the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine* (ii. pp. 261-273).

RELATION
DE LA CONVERSION

DE
M. JEAN THAYER,

*Ancien Ministre Protestant à Boston, en
l'Amérique Septentrionale, & converti
à la Religion catholique, à Rome, le 25.
de Mai 1783.*

Ecrit par lui-même.

A V E C une Lettre à son frere, en réponse à
quelques objections sur le parti qu'il a pris, &
une autre Lettre d'une demoiselle Angloise à
qui il a fait faire son abjuration au mois de
Septembre 1787, à Londres, qu'elle lui a écrite
le lendemain de sa première Communion.

*Miserere Cordis Domini in eternum cantabo.
Je chanterai à jamais les miséricordes du Seigneur.
Pf. 88. v.*

A PARIS,

Chez PREVOST, Libraire, au haut de la rue de la
Harpe, vis-à-vis le passage des Jacobins.

M. DCC. LXXXVIII.

Avec Approbation, & Privilege du Roi.

RELACION

DE LA CONVERSION

DE

S.^{R.} JUAN THAYER,

ANTES MINISTRO PROTESTANTE
en Boston en la America Septentrional,

Y CONVERTIDO A LA RELIGION CATOLICA
en Roma el dia 25. de Mayo de 1783.

ESCRITA POR EL MISMO:

SE AÑADEN DOS CARTAS, LA UNA
à un hermano suyo en la que responde à los
argumentos que le hace sobre la resolución
tomada; y la otra de una Señorita Inglesa
que abjuró sus errores, y le dá cuenta del
estado de su alma en el dia siguiente à su
primera Comunión.

TRADUCIDO DEL FRANCES,

CON LICENCIA BARCELONA

Por la Viuda Piferrer, vendese en su Libreria
administrada por Juan Sellent,

M a c h r i c h t v o n d e r B e f e h r u n g

des
Herrn Johann Thayer,
vormaligen protestantischen Predicanten zu
Boston in Nordamerika,
der sich
zur katholischen Religion in Rom
bekehret hat,
den 25 May 1783:
Von ihm selbst geschrieben.

Nachst einem Schreiben an seinen Brude-
r, zur Beantwortung einiger Einwendungen
gen wider die Kirche, in die er eingetreten
ist, und ihrem andern Briefe eines englischen
Gentleman, welcher im Monat September 1787
in London zur Gläubigkeitsbekennung be-
zeugt hat, den sie den andern Tag
nach ihrer ersten Communion
an ihn geschrieben
hat.

Aus dem Französischen.
Wien, 1790.
Gedruckt bey Katharina Landern, Witwe.

NARRATIO CONVERSIONIS IOANNIS THAYER

OLIM
MINISTRI PROTESTANTIS BOSTONII
IN VRBE
AMERICA SEPTENTRIONALIS,
AB IP SO SCRIPTA,

POSTORVM
RELIGIONEM CATHOLICAM
AMPLEXVS FVVISSET,

ROMAE 25 DIE MAII 1783.

Hinc narrationi adiuncta est, tum Epistola ad
fratrem eius ab ipso scripta, ad diluenda
quaedam, quibus suam conversionem im-
probaverat, tum Epistola alia, quam ad eum
scripsit puella quaedam Sectae Anglicanae.
*„Narraation frater tuorum Vhorisimorum, et
maxime Ministrorum inditis in Domino percipitur,
omnia e Gallico Seruone in linguam Latinam con-
uerit, nouitque, confirmationis causa,*

adicit Notae
HENRICVS LYDOLICVS HVLOT
Rhenensis Ecclesiae Presbyter,
pro fide et unitate Catholica exul.

MONASTERII WESTPHALORVM
1794.

The numbering of the various editions raises a bibliographical problem which cannot be solved accurately. Some of the questions are considered at length in the foot-notes to the following check-list. Judging from the imprint of the London second and fifth editions it seems possible that Coghlan published four editions, prior to the fifth, which were numbered consecutively,¹ and that the undated Manchester third edition, which follows the London second in form, was called the third on that account. It is probable that a provincial publisher would take into account, in his numbering, the previous London editions, as did Goddard of Baltimore who apparently reprinted from a London fourth and styled his edition as the fifth. But it is less likely that a London publisher would take into account a provincial publication. Bowen and Howard of Wilmington, N. C., appear to have numbered their edition, in 1789, as the sixth, following the Baltimore fifth from which they presumably re-printed. The styling the Liège edition (1789) the *Quatrième Édition* would seem to indicate that there was a Paris edition subsequent to the second of 1788.

The edition cited by the Rev. J. M. Finotti as a London fourth (1797)² was probably a Dublin edition, and may have been the fourth in sequence published there, in view of Thayer's statement in 1809 that the *Conversion* had passed through several editions in Ireland.³ The Kilkenny fifth edition (1805) apparently continues the successive numbering of Irish editions. These are matters of conjecture only and are therefore offered tentatively.

Of the twenty-six editions listed below twelve have been examined personally, eight have been verified by photostats of title-pages or descriptions obtained from librarians, and the remaining six are listed from references to them in bibliographies or other books. The list is obviously incomplete, but it is hoped that its publication may result in bringing to light other editions.

The order of arrangement is chronological, but in the case of the appearance of a number of editions in any one year, as in 1788, it is not possible to list them in exact chronological order.

The check-list which follows is divided into two sections: I con-

¹ See p. 138 note e, below.

² See p. 139 note l, below.

³ See p. 140 note o, below.

tains the separate editions of the Conversion; II contains the Conversion as published in connection with accounts of other conversions.

CHECK-LIST OF JOHN THAYER'S "CONVERSION"

Key to Abbreviations

AAS	= American Antiquarian Society
ACHR	= American Catholic Historical Researches
ACHS	= American Catholic Historical Society
BA	= Boston Athenaeum
BCA	= Rev. J. M. Finotti, <i>Bibliographica Catholica Americana</i> (New York, 1872)
BPL	= Boston Public Library
BM	= British Museum
BVE	= Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Rome
CUA	= Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.
HC	= Harvard College Library
JCB	= John Carter Brown Library
LC	= Library of Congress
LCP	= Library Company of Philadelphia
MHS	= Massachusetts Historical Society
NYHS	= New York Historical Society
NYPL	= New York Public Library
Räss	= Dr. Andreas Räss, <i>Die Convertiten seit der Reformation</i> (Freiburg, 1866-1871)
RML	= Riggs Memorial Library, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.
St.S	= Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montreal
Shea	= John Gilmary Shea, <i>Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll</i> (New York, 1888)
UL	= Université Laval, Quebec
WL	= Watkinson Library of Reference, Hartford
YU	= Yale University Library

I

DATE	PLACE	LANGUAGE	EDITION	LOCATION ¹
1787	London	English	2d Edition ^a	MHS.
[1787?] ^b	Manchester, Eng.	English	3d Edition	BPL.
1788	Paris	French		BA. BVE. CUA. HC. JCB.
1788	Lisbon	English and Portuguese ^c		BM. CUA. JCB. MHS.
[1788] ^d	Barcelona	Spanish		JCB. RML.
1788	Valencia	Spanish		HC. JCB. YU.
1788	Paris	French	Seconde Édition	LC.
1788	London	English	5th Edition	BA. CUA.
1788	Baltimore	English	5th Edition ^e	AAS. BA. CUA. LC. LCP. MHS. NYHS. NYPL. WL. YU.
1789	Wilmington, N. C.	English	6th Edition ^f	MHS.
1789	Liège	French	Quatrième Édition	NYHS.
1790	Ofen ^g	German		MHS.
1790	Hartford ^h	English		Shea, p. 389 n. 1.
[1791]	Quebec ⁱ	French		St.S. UL.
1791	London ^j	English	6th Edition	ACHS.

¹ The remaining footnotes, a-aa, will be found on pp. 137-140, below.

1794	Monasterii West-phalorum ^k	Latin	BPL.
1797	London, or Dublin? ^l	English	BCA. pp. 246-7
1800	London ^m	English 8th Edition	BM.
1805	Kilkenny ⁿ	English 5th Edition	BCA. p. 243
1809	Dublin ^o	English	CUA. MHS. RML.
1815	Cork	English	ACHR. xx. 48 p
1822	Mainz ^q	German	Räss. x. 305 n. 1
1824	London ^a	English 11th Edition	Räss. x. 305 n. 1
1832	Hartford ^r	English	HC. LC.
1837	Philadelphia ^s	English	ACHS. LC.
1840	Hartford or New Haven? ^t	English	RM.

II

- 1 1787 n. p. but supposed to be at Augsburg Geschichte zweier merkwürdigen Bekehrungen zur katholischen Religion, nämlich des Herrn Thayer's und des Herrn Joh. Joseph Keideck's, eines Rabbiners in Deutschland.^u (Räss, Die Convertiten seit der Reformation, x. 305). BA.
- 2 1789 Paris Conversions remarquables de quelques Protestants. St.S.^v
- 3 1789 Paris Recueil de conversions remarquables nouvellement opérées dans quelques Protestants^w
- 4 1791 Paris Nouvelle édition
- 5 1796 Paris Troisième édition augmentée
- 6 1822 Paris et Lyon Nouvelle édition, augmentée d'une notice sur la conversion de M. de Haller
- 7 1822 Louvain Conversion de M^r Thayer et de M^{lle} Pitt. MHS.
- 8 1827 Paris Tableau Generale des Principales Conversions. BCA. p. 246^x
- 9 1829 Avignon Nouvelle édition augmentée [of the Recueil de Conversions]
- 10 1852 Paris Dictionnaire des Conversions. Col. 1275-1287.^y BPL.
- 11 1855 Clermont-Ferrand Nouvelle édition [of the Recueil de Conversions]
- 12 1869 Schaffhausen D. A. Rosenthal, Convertitenbilder aus dem neunzehnten Jahrhundert, 1867-1872, iii. part 1. pp. 315-330.^z BA.
- 13 1871 Freiburg Dr. A. Räss, Die Convertiten seit der Reformation, 1866-1871, x. 1746-1798, pp. 305-322.^{aa} BA.

^a Editions are recorded as they appear on title-pages, or as listed in catalogues and bibliographies.

^b This edition is undated and cannot be assigned with certainty. It might have appeared in the latter part of the year 1787, or early in 1788. Thayer dated his Account "London, Aug. 24, 1787," and presumably the London first edition could not have been published earlier than the last week in August, or the beginning of September. The Manchester edition follows the London second edition

with only a few trifling exceptions. The text of the title-page is the same except that in place of the verse from the Psalms are the words: "With the Addition of two Letters, extracted from the Life of Benedict Joseph Labre." An edition of the Life of Labre was published in London in 1785. The variations in the text itself are typographical and such as might have occurred in re-setting the type.

^c The copy of the Lisbon edition in the Massachusetts Historical Society lacks the title-page in English. The John Carter Brown copy has the title-page in both languages. The editor and translator wrote in his preface: "Think not kind and Courteous Reader, that my design in publishing in Lisbon, the Copy of what has met with so much approbation, in four Editions, thro which it has already passed in London, is any other than that of giving glory to a most Bountiful God." The English title-page reads: "First printed in London, and now in Lisbon, MDCCLXXXVIII."

^d Undated but assigned to 1788 after conferring with Mr. Ford. This edition has been cited as published in 1787, but the title-page reads "Traducido del Frances" and the book itself follows in arrangement the Paris first edition of 1788, which only received the "Approbation, & Privilege du Roi" under date of November 20, 1787.

^e This edition raises the question as to what is meant by the words "fifth edition." On the title-page, following the verse from the Psalms, are the words "THE FIFTH EDITION" between two rules. Then the imprint follows: "BALTIMORE: Reprinted (from the London Edition) and sold by WILLIAM GODDARD, M.DCC.LXXXVIII." As no other Baltimore edition has been located, and the ten copies listed are practically all referred to as the Baltimore fifth edition, the natural inference would be that Goddard's imprint implied that it was "Reprinted (from the [fifth] London Edition)." But the title-page is an exact reprint not of the London fifth edition (1788) but of the London second edition (1787). A further comparison of the three editions shows clearly that the Baltimore edition is not a reprint of the London fifth but of an earlier London edition. The difference between the various editions is particularly noticeable in Thayer's letter to his brother. In the London second and Baltimore editions the letter begins with the words "Your *first* objection," and is divided into nine sections. In the London fifth the letter begins with a preamble, and is divided into twenty-two sections and a postscript, the section numbered 1 beginning with the words "Your *first* objection."

The Baltimore edition may have been a reprint of a London fourth edition and so was styled by Goddard the fifth edition. The imprint of the London second and fifth editions is the same except that the word which is enclosed in brackets only appears in the second: "LONDON; Printed by J. P. COGHLAN, No. 37. Duke-Street, [near] Grosvenor-Square: And Sold by P. Byrne, Grafton-Street, Dublin." It seems probable that Coghlan would number his editions consecutively, that there was a third and a fourth edition with his imprint, and that the Baltimore edition can be properly regarded as the first American edition. The Rev. J. M. Finotti (Bibliotheca Catholica Americana, p. 243) arrived at the same conclusion regarding the numbering of the Baltimore edition. He wrote that "both Goddard of Balt. and Reynolds of Kilkenny meant that they had printed the 5th after the 4th London ed." (For Reynolds, see p. 139 note n, below.)

It is possible that the comparatively wide distribution of the Baltimore edi-

SEVERAL EXTRACTS

FROM A

LETTER WRITTEN TO HIS BROTHER,

In Answer to some Objections.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

YOUR first objection, taken from the persecutions that Catholics have excited against their enemies, only proves that there have ever been bad Catholics, who, under pretext of Religion, have vented the malignity of their heart. Our Religion, far from approving, highly condemns all such Christians, and knows no

D

other

LETTRE

DE M. THAYER,

En réponse à celle que lui a écrit M. son frere, après avoir appris sa conversion, traduite de l'Anglois.

MON CHER FRERE ET AMI,

C'est avec la plus grande satisfaction que j'ai reçu votre lettre par les mains de M. ***; et qui m'a fait le plus de plaisir, c'a été d'y trouver toute la tendresse d'amitié que vous avez toujours eue pour moi. Soyez persuadé que la mienne est toujours aussi la même pour vous; & loin que le temps, l'éloignement, ou la différence de sentimens l'aient affoiblie, elle a pris au contraire de nouvelles forces, sur-tout, dans la Religion sainte que j'ai embrassée, Religion dont le caractère propre & essentiel est de perfectionner les vertus morales qu'elle trouve en nous.

Après une tendre effusion de cœur, vous me témoignez vos chagrins de ce

B v

tion in this country may have been due to Thayer himself. He arrived at Baltimore on his return to the United States in the middle of December, 1789, and reached Boston in the first week in January, 1790. Early in May he made his first professional visit to Salem, where he was received and entertained by the Rev. William Bentley. On his departure he left with Bentley "several hundred pamphlets . . . to be committed to the custody of some proper person for sale." The first item on the list was: "49 Copies of M^r Thayer's Conversion, 1^s/" (Diary, i. 165, 166.) Not long after Thayer's arrival in Boston, John W. Folsom, a book-seller at No. 30, Union Street, advertised for sale: "The last London Edition of the *RELATION* of the Rev. Mr. Thayer's CONVERSION to the *Catholic Faith*. — Price one shilling" (Massachusetts Centinel, February 20, 1790, p. 3/3). This advertisement was repeated on March 3 and 10.

^f "The Sixth Edition. Wilmington, (North Carolina:) Reprinted by BOWEN & HOWARD, M.DCC.LXXXIX. For, and at the Expence of The Reverend PATRICK CLEARY." This is probably a reprint of the Baltimore edition, and styled the sixth edition on account of the statement on the Baltimore title-page. The arrangement of the "Letter" shows that it is not a reprint of the London fifth. This copy is not complete, having at the end only the preliminary note and first page of the letter to Thayer from the young lady.

^g The German name for Buda.

^h No copy located. The Conversion is stated by J. G. Shea to have been "reprinted in Baltimore in 1788, Hartford 1790, and the French in Canada about the same time."

ⁱ Undated, but identified as 1791 by M. Aegidius Fauteux from contemporary account-books showing that the book was offered for sale in that year.

^j I am indebted to the American Catholic Historical Society for a transcript of the title-page of this edition. It is exactly the same as the London fifth through the citation from the Psalms. The imprint reads: "THE SIXTH EDITION. London: Printed by J. P. Coghlan, No. 37, Duke-Street, Grosvenor-Square. MDCCXCI. (Price Sixpence)." As in the fifth edition Thayer's letter to his brother has the preamble, twenty-two sections, and postscript.

^k Münster in Westphalia. Translated from the French, and edited by "Henricus Ludovicus Hulot Rheinensis Dioeceseos Presbyter, pro fide et unitate Catholica exul."

^l The Rev. J. M. Finotti wrote that "In 1797, J. Boyce, b. Inns-Quay, London, published a Fourth Edition of 'An Account &c.,' pp. 53, 12^{mo}." A comparison of this record with the imprint of the Dublin, 1809, edition (see note o, below) suggests the possibility that this was a Dublin and not a London edition. Father Finotti's note is not very clear. Apparently he had not seen the copy himself. The paragraph is signed "Apb. B"[altimore]. Kings Inn Quay is the quay adjoining Arran-Quay in Dublin.

^m I am indebted to Mr. R. F. Sharp of the British Museum for a transcript of the title-page. The imprint reads: "The Eighth Edition. London: Printed by Keating, Brown and Keating, (Successors to the late Mr. J. P. Coghlan,) No. 37, Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, M,DCCC."

ⁿ The Rev. J. M. Finotti described his own copy of the Kilkenny edition as "Printed and sold by John Reynolds, High Street, 1805." He stated that the title-page was the same as in the Baltimore edition, and that it was "also qualified, 'The Fifth Edition.'"

^o "Dublin: Printed by J. Boyce, 7, Arran-Quay, 1809. [Price, *Thirteen Pence*]." This edition contains a Dedication signed "John Thayer—Dublin, Jan. 28, 1809," which reads in part: "THE following little Narrative was published above twenty years ago, and, since that time, has been very frequently reprinted in many parts of Europe and America. It has passed through several editions in this island. By the blessing of God it has everywhere contributed to the edification of catholics and the conversion of many protestants." He adds that he has lately revised it and corrected several errors of the press. He gives, in footnotes to the Account, the names of the two Jesuit priests in Rome, who greatly influenced him, as Father Ambrogio and Father Zacharia. The letter to his brother follows in general the London fifth and Paris first editions. There is substantially the same text though not divided into as many sections.

^p "In 1815 was published at Cork, Ireland, an Account of the Conversion of Rev. John Thayer, a Protestant Minister of Boston, who embraced the Roman Catholic Religion in 1783."

^q No copies located, but Dr. Räss in a footnote cites a German edition, Mainz, 1822, and an eleventh edition, London, 1824.

^r "By the editors of the U. S. Catholic Press. Hartford, Conn. MDCCC-XXXII." The Harvard College copy appears to be incomplete. It does not contain the letter from the young lady, but ends at page 38 with the postscript to Thayer's letter. The title-page refers to some controversial writings which do not appear in the book.

^s Philadelphia, E. Cummiskey — South Sixth St. 1837 (Catholic Tracts no. 11).

^t The Librarian of the Riggs Memorial Library kindly informs me that at the present time, after a very thorough search, he has not been able to find this copy, which he suspects may have been loaned and not returned. It is therefore impossible to determine the exact place of imprint.

^u There was published in Paris, 1783, a "Relation de la Conversion et du Baptême d'un Célèbre Rabbín d'Allemagne. (J. J. Keideck, composed by himself and translated into French by Father Bernard Lambert.)"

^v The Boston Athenæum catalogues a copy of this book, but unfortunately it is missing. I am informed by M. Aegidius Fauteux that the library of Saint-Sulpice in Montreal possesses a copy of the work, which was published anonymously by the Rev. François Charles Nagot. He states that the collation of the part occupied by Thayer's Conversion is absolutely the same as that of the Paris first edition of 1788, that the imprint is practically the same, and that it is evident that both were the issue of the same press.

^w I am also indebted to M. Fauteux for supplying the items listed as 3, 4, 5, 6, 9 and 11. He informs me that the titles are to be found in Bertrand's Bibliothèque Sulpicienne, ii. 42.

^x Father Finotti states that the Tableau Generale, pp. 68-103, contains Thayer's Conversion but without the two letters.

^y By Charles François Chevé, and published as volume 33 of the Nouvelle Encyclopédie Théologique, by the Abbé J.-P. Migne.

^z The Conversion appears under the sub-division "Amerika" with the heading "Nathanael Thayer, presbyterianischer Pfarrer in Boston."

^{aa} This volume also contains Thayer's letter to his brother, pp. 322-340, and the letter from the young lady in London, pp. 538-540.

On behalf of Mr. SAMUEL E. MORISON, the following communication was made:

DR. AMOS WINDSHIP (1745-1813; H. C. 1771)¹

The commonplace-books of Ephraim Eliot, who graduated at Harvard College in 1780, have been drawn upon several times for our Transactions.² The most finished sketch in the two volumes, as well as the most entertaining and amusing, is one entitled "Biography of a Rascal." The subject of this unflattering piece of portraiture is Dr. Amos Windship, who had a varied and somewhat stormy career.³

The son of Nathaniel Windship and Mercy (Leland) Windship, Amos was born at Holliston August 10, 1745.⁴ His father died December 27, 1753,⁵ and on June 16, 1760, Amos was placed under

¹ In the absence of Dr. Morison, the introductory paragraphs and the footnotes have been prepared by the Editor.

² Our Publications, xviii. 54-62, 77-78, xix. 290-295, xxv. 40-43, 47-50, 57-58.

³ Apparently the only account of Amos Windship that has hitherto appeared in print is that found in Sherman Leland's *Leland Magazine* (1850), where we read:

"He was educated at Harvard University, and graduated with the class of 1771, . . . He was a physician and surgeon. He received his medical education under the instruction of Dr. Ezekiel Hersey, a physician and surgeon of considerable eminence in Hingham, Mass. He commenced his professional course in Boston, Mass., and after continuing in practice there for a few years, engaged as a naval surgeon on board the United States frigate *Alliance*, of the squadron under the command of Commodore John Paul Jones, and continued in the active service of his country in that capacity, until the close of the war in 1783. When the relations of peace were established, he visited England, and while there became a member of the London Medical Society, and was appointed a corresponding fellow. After a short residence abroad, he returned to the United States. He received the degree of M.D., from Harvard University, and resumed his practice in Boston. He continued in the discharge of his professional duties there for a series of years, and then removed to Wellfleet, Mass., where he died in 1811. He was highly esteemed in his professional and social relations" (p. 171: cf. pp. 170, 172, 177-178).

For Windship's degree of M.D., and the true date of his death, see p. 144 notes 3 and 5, below.

⁴ Holliston Vital Records, p. 155.

⁵ Holliston Vital Records, p. 357. Administration on his estate was granted to his widow Mercy, February 25, 1754 (Middlesex Probate Files, no. 25316). In an inventory of the same date the "Real Estate about Seventy Acres of Land

& The Buildings" were valued at £1800. In an account dated June 16, 1760, made by commissioners of whom Daniel Emerson was one, occurs this item: "To the Widow for Lying in of a Posthumous Child, and her Care of that Child 2½ Years; and her Care of another Child 3 Years, & Charge of its Sickness £240." Nathaniel and Mercy Windship had several children besides Amos, though he is the only child mentioned in the Leland Magazine.

That Nathaniel Windship, the father of Dr. Amos Windship, was a descendant of Edward Winship (1612-1688) of Cambridge is a reasonable supposition, but the line of descent has not hitherto been determined. Edward Winship (1612-1688), the emigrant, had a son Edward (1654-1718). This Edward had, among other children, Edward (1684-1763), Ephraim (1688-1757), and Nathaniel (1690-1721). The third Edward had a son Jonathan (1719-1784), who had a son Amos born December 19 and baptized December 30, 1750 (Lexington Vital Records, p. 90): see the next paragraph but one. The Nathaniel Winship who was born in 1690 married Rebecca Pierce February 11, 1714 (Cambridge Vital Records, ii. 430), died in 1721, and on March 6, 1722, administration on his estate was granted to his widow Rebecca (Middlesex Probate Files, no. 25313). Nathaniel and Rebecca (Pierce) Winship had a son Nathaniel who was born December 27, 1716 (Cambridge Vital Records, i. 775). On June 6, 1728, Rebecca (Pierce) Winship was married to John Manning (id. ii. 431). On November 26, 1733, "Guardianship of Nathaniel Winship in his seventeenth year son of Nathaniel Winship late of Cambridge . . . dec^d is committed (at his own Election) to Ephraim Winship of Lexington" (Middlesex Probate Files, no. 25315). The guardian thus appointed was the youth's uncle Ephraim Winship (1688-1757). On March 13, 1738, a committee was appointed to settle and divide the estate of Nathaniel Winship (1690-1721), it reported April 1, and on April 10 the "doings" of the committee were accepted. Two-thirds of the real estate were "assigned to the within named Deceas'd his only Son Nathaniel Winship, & to his heirs and assigns for ever; and the said assignee is order'd to pay the Charges of this Settlement . . . and to pay to his Sisters" certain sums (Middlesex Probate Files, no. 25313). The place of residence of Nathaniel Winship is not given in this document; but on April 12, 1738, "Nathanael Winship of Lexington cordwainer" sold a certain piece of land (Middlesex Deeds, xxxix. 558). On May 28, 1742, "Eli Jones of Holliston" sold to "Nathaniel Winship of Sudbury . . . cordwainer" sixty acres of land in Holliston (id. lxvi. 336). On May 16, 1744, "Nathaniel Winship of Holliston" and Mercy Leland were married at Sherborn (Sherborn Vital Records, p. 148). On July 29, 1745, "Eli Jones of Holliston" sold to "Nathaniel Winship of the same Town . . . Cordwainer . . . about Eight acres" of land in Holliston (Middlesex Deeds, lxvi. 337). On September 14, 1749, "Nathanael Winship of Holliston Cordwainer" and five of his uncles—among them Edward Winship (1684-1763) and Ephraim Winship (1688-1757)—sold a certain piece of land in Cambridge (id. xlix. 288). (Cf. id. xxv. 233, 708, xxix. 141, xli. 468, 469, liv. 506.) The deeds from Eli Jones to Nathaniel Winship were not recorded until November 15, 1766. After the death (1753) of Nathaniel Windship, his widow Mercy married (apparently in 1763) Ralph Day of Sherborn. Exactly how Amos Windship came into the possession of his father's real estate in Holliston does not appear, but on August 21, 1766, "I Amos Winship of Sherborn . . . student In Consideration of two hundred and forty pounds Lawful money paid me by Hachaliah Bridges of Holliston . . . do hereby give

grant sell and convey" unto the said Bridges "One certain Tract of Land in said Holliston with the Buildings," the tract containing sixty-eight acres of land. One of the witnesses was Ralph Day, presumably Amos's step-father. The deed was acknowledged by Windship and was recorded on November 15, 1766. (Middlesex Deeds, lxvi. 340-341.) It will be noted that Amos, a full year before he entered Harvard, describes himself as "student;" and also that the sale took place on the very day that Amos — making allowance for the difference between Old Style and New Style — came of age. See p. 150 note 1, below.

It is clear, then, that Dr. Amos Windship's father was the Nathaniel Winship who was born at Cambridge December 27, 1716, and who lived successively in Lexington, Sudbury, and Holliston. (Cf. Paige, *History of Cambridge*, p. 696, and Hudson's *History of Lexington*, ii. 767, where this identification is suggested but not worked out.)

With regard to the Amos Winship, son of Jonathan Winship (1719-1784), who was born December 19, 1750, there has been much confusion. Writing of him in 1899, J. P. C. Winship said: "It is reported that he was a graduate of Harvard College" (*Historical Brighton*, i. 149). In 1868 Hudson (*History of Lexington*, p. 270) merely gave the date of birth of this Amos. In the 1913 edition of Hudson's *History* (ii. 769), this Amos Winship is stated to have been our Dr. Amos Windship; but, as is abundantly proved in these footnotes, this identification is an error. This Amos Winship married Mary Wyman October 29, 1782 (*Cambridge Vital Records*, ii. 430), and had, among other children, Sally Wyman, baptized June 1, 1783 (Paige, *History of Cambridge*, p. 699), and Amos, born in 1792. Paige says that Sally Wyman Winship married Cyrus Holbrook September 28, 1800, but this is an error, for C. Holbrook's wife was not Sally Wyman Winship but Sarah Winship (*Cambridge Vital Records*, ii. 430). As a matter of fact, Sally Wyman Winship and Dexter Dana were married by the Rev. Dr. John Lathrop October 20, 1799 (*Boston Records*, xxx. 242). The name of Amos Winship, the father, is not found in the *Boston Directory* for 1789, but in later editions we read: "Windship Amos, victualler and tavern-keeper, Corn Court, S. side the Market" (1796); "Winship Amos, butcher and tavern keeper, Corn court" (1798); "Winship Amos, tavern-keeper Corn court" (1800). He died November 12, 1801: "Mr. AMOS WINDSHIP *Æt.* 51" (*Columbian Centinel*, November 14, p. 2/3). Administration on the estate of "Amos Windship late of Boston Victualler" was granted December 8, 1801, to his son-in-law Dexter Dana (*Suffolk Probate Files*, no. 21571). An inventory dated December 13, 1802, mentions a pew in the New Brick, another in the meeting-house of the third precinct in Cambridge, and land in Cambridge. (Cf. *Middlesex Deeds*, cxix. 429, cxxi. 303, cxxv. 320, cxxx. 530, 542.) A document dated February 21, 1803, mentions his widow Mary, and another dated August 29, 1803, his only son Amos. On February 21, 1803, Mary Winship was admitted guardian to her son Amos, but on November 11, 1806, was succeeded by Josiah Bridge, who was discharged November 3, 1813 (*Suffolk Probate Files*, no. 21853). In or about September, 1803, Mary Winship was married to the Rev. Joel Foster (1755-1812; *Dartmouth 1777*) of East Sudbury, now Wayland (*Wayland Vital Records*, p. 123; *Cambridge Vital Records*, ii. 430). Her son Amos Winship died December 18, 1815: "On Monday afternoon, Mr. AMOS WINDSHIP, aged 23 years. His funeral will be from his brother-in-law's, Mr. Dexter Dana's house, No. 64 Cornhill, to-morrow afternoon" (*Columbian Centinel*, Wednesday, December 13,

the guardianship of Daniel Emerson.¹ In 1767 he entered Harvard College, but remained not more than a year.² He then studied medicine, practised in several places, came to Boston about 1773, served as a surgeon on various vessels during the Revolution, among them the Alliance, made two or three trips to England, in 1790 received from Harvard College the degrees of A.M. and M.B.,³ being allowed to have his place in his Class of 1771,⁴ lived in Boston off and on for many years, in 1799-1800 served on the Herald against the French, and finally died at Wellfleet on June 26, 1813.⁵

p. 2/3). Administration on his estate was granted December 18, 1815, to his mother Mary Foster (Suffolk Probate Files, no. 24810).

Jonathan Winship (1719-1784), the father of Amos Winship (1750-1801), and Nathaniel Windship (1716-1753), the father of Dr. Amos Windship (1745-1813), were first cousins. Consequently the two Amoses were second cousins. As both Amoses lived during certain years in Boston and are both mentioned in the Boston Records and elsewhere, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between them.

¹ "Guardianship of Amos (at his own Election) a Minor in the fifteenth year of his age Son of Nathaniel Winship late of Holliston . . . is granted . . . To Daniel Emerson of said Holliston Cordwainer" (Middlesex Probate Files, no. 25317). On March 16, 1766, administration on the estate of Daniel Emerson, cordwainer, was granted to his widow Hannah (id. no. 6944). He died December 4, 1765 (Holliston Vital Records, p. 312). Daniel Emerson was at various times town clerk, treasurer, and selectman of Holliston (A. Morse, *Genealogical Register of the Inhabitants and History of the Towns of Sherborn and Holliston*, 1856, pp. 81, 331, 333).

² See p. 150 note 1, below.

³ The statement in the Leland Magazine that Windship "received the degree of M.D., from Harvard University, and resumed his practice in Boston" conveys a wrong impression. The degree of M.B. was first conferred by Harvard in 1788, and that of M.D. in course in 1795. Previous to 1811, six M.B.'s had received the degree of M.D. in course. In 1811 the degree of M.D. was "*granted to graduates of that year and to earlier graduates who had not been admitted to it*" (Quinquennial Catalogue, 1920, p. 695; cf. our Publications, xii. 312-321). It was not until 1811 that Windship became an M.D.

F. S. Drake stated in 1878 that Amos Windship, "also a distinguished physician, a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, was surgeon of the 'Bonne Homme Richard,' Capt. John Paul Jones" (Town of Roxbury, p. 208). Amos Windship was not a graduate of Edinburgh, though his son Charles Williams Windship took the degree of M.D. at Glasgow in 1797.

⁴ See p. 162 note 2, below.

⁵ Both in the Leland Magazine and in the Quinquennial Catalogue, the date of Windship's death is given as 1811. The date in the text has been obtained from the town clerk of Wellfleet.

Dr. Amos Windship was three times married. His first wife was Desire Bell,¹ the daughter of Daniel Bell and Desire (Bar-

¹ The Leland Magazine gives her name as Mary Bell, but presumably that is an error for Desire Bell, which is the name found in J. Cunnabell's Genealogical Memoir of the Cunnabell, Conable or Connable Family (1886), p. 33. Mr. Eliot (p. 154, below) speaks of Windship's "Brother in law Deacon Daniel Bell."

Daniel Bell and Abigail Cunnabell were married August 3, 1710, and had many children, the eldest being Daniel. The father died June 9, 1750, his will (dated February 12, 1749, proved June 19, 1750) being in Suffolk Probate Files, no. 9559.

The second Daniel Bell was born May 4, 1711, was a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, was twice married, and died March 26, 1767. "Thursday last died here, after a long Indisposition, Capt. *Daniel Bell*, a Gentleman well respected among us for his Faithfulness and Honesty" (Boston Gazette, Monday, March 30, 1767, p. 3/1). By his first wife, Miriam Gore, whom he married March 12, 1733, he had three children: Miriam, Abigail (wife of Joseph Ridgway), and Sarah (wife of John Callender). By his second wife, Desire Barker, whom he married December 13, 1750, he had two children: Daniel and Desire. In his will (dated December 8, 1766, proved April 3, 1767: Suffolk Probate Files, no. 14007) he mentions only these five children. On April 3, 1767, the two youngest, Daniel and Desire, described as minors above fourteen years of age, were placed under the guardianship of their mother. (Suffolk Probate Files, nos. 14008, 14009.)

The third Daniel Bell was born December 28 and baptized December 31, 1752. On April 20, 1775, he married Mary Greenleaf, daughter of William and Mary (Brown) Greenleaf, by whom he had nine children, the youngest born a few days after his own death. (J. E. Greenleaf, Greenleaf Family, 1896, p. 213.) It was this Daniel who was the deacon. "April 16, 1786. The pastor communicated to the church a letter from M^r Daniel Bell, resigning the office of a deacon in the church, of clerk to the society and one of the members of the standing committee, upon which The Church Voted, That M^r Bell's resignation be accepted, and that the thanks of the church be returned to M^r Bell for his many faithful services in the office of a deacon" (Records of the Church in Brattle Square, 1902, p. 39). He died October 15, 1791: "In this town Mr. DANIEL BELL, Merchant" (Columbian Centinel, October 19, 1791, p. 3/2); and administration was granted to his widow November 22nd, one of her bondsmen being Charles Williams (Suffolk Probate Files, no. 19838). Five of the children are mentioned in the will of their grandmother, Mrs. Desire Williams.

Whether Desire Bell, the sister of Deacon Daniel Bell (1752-1791), was older or younger than her brother does not appear; nor is it known when or where she married Amos Windship, but the marriage must have taken place about 1772. Nor is it known when she died.

After the death of Capt. Daniel Bell (1711-1767), his widow Desire (Barker) Bell married Charles Williams, though when or where is not known. It must have been before July 30, 1772, on which day Desire Williams signed a deed as the wife of Charles Williams: see Suffolk Deeds, clxx. 187. Mr. Williams was a collector of taxes in Boston in the years 1782, 1784-1790, and was rechosen in 1791, but declined to serve. He was a prominent man at King's Chapel, and later at Christ Church. He died in June, 1793: "In this town, Mr. CHARLES

ker) Bell, by whom he had three children: Charles Williams Windship, Desire Windship, and Sarah Windship.¹ In 1784 he

WILLIAMS, *Æt.* 61. — He was a man of unspotted integrity and universal benevolence" (Columbian Centinel, June 29, p. 3/2). He was buried in Christ Church July 1st, the record describing him as "Paralitic" and giving his age as 59. His will (dated May 4, 1787, proved July 9, 1793: Suffolk Probate Files, no. 20185) mentions no children and makes his wife executrix, one of her bondsmen being the Rev. Dr. William Walter. See p. 156 note 3, below.

By his marriage to Mrs. Bell, Charles Williams became the step-father of Deacon Daniel Bell and the step father-in-law of Amos Windship; no doubt it was for him that Windship named his oldest son; and for many years Windship and Mr. Williams were closely associated. On first being chosen a collector in 1782, Mr. Williams proposed "D^r Amos Windship & Daniel Bell Merch^t as his Bondsmen." Presumably this Daniel Bell was the deacon, Mr. Williams's stepson. Windship was again a bondsman in 1787-1790. (Boston Records, xxv. 184, xxvii. 29, 67, 100, 132, 133.)

Mrs. Desire Williams, successively the widow of Daniel Bell (1711-1767) and Charles Williams, died April 10, 1798: "Yesterday, after a long confinement, which she bore with exemplary patience and fortitude, Madam DESIRE WILLIAMS, widow of the late Mr. Charles Williams" (Columbian Centinel, April 11, p. 3/1). The Christ Church records give her death as due to "Grad. decay," her age as 70, and the date of her burial as April 12. In her will (dated May 2, 1796, proved April 17, 1798: Suffolk Probate Files, no. 20847) she mentions her grandchildren Charles Williams Windship, Desire Windship, and Sarah Windship; Mary Bell, "widow of my late son Daniel," to whom she gives the "tomb under Stone Chapel;" her five grandchildren, the children of Daniel (1752-1791) and Mary (Greenleaf) Bell; and her pew in Christ Church, which she gives to the wardens; and names the Rev. Dr. William Walter as one of the executors. If the age of Mrs. Williams is correctly given, then perhaps she was the Desire Barker, daughter of Barnabas and Hannah (Turner) Barker, who was born April 25, 1728, and is said to have married "—— Bell" (B. Newhall, Barker Family of Plymouth Colony and County, p. 79). In a deed acknowledged by her April 10 and recorded April 19, 1794, Mrs. Williams describes herself as "Desire Williams of Boston . . . Widow of Charles Williams, and late Widow, Executrix, & Residuary Legatee of Daniel Bell late of said Boston" (Suffolk Deeds, clxxviii. 93).

¹ All three children are mentioned in the will of their grandmother, Mrs. Desire Williams. Charles Williams Windship was born July 22, 1773 (Faculty Records, vi. 51); was at the Boston Public Latin School (Catalogue, 1886, p. 118); on July 8, 1789, at the visitation of the public schools, delivered an oration "On the Progress and Advantages of a Good Education" (Massachusetts Centinel, July 11, 15, xi. 135, 140); graduated at Harvard College in 1793, having a Commencement part (Faculty Records, vi. 186); received the degree of M.D. from Glasgow University in 1797; and died at Roxbury August 27, 1852. (New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vii. 103; F. S. Drake, Town of Roxbury, p. 208). He was twice married: first to Catharine May, daughter of Col. Joseph May (1760-1841); and secondly to Martha Ruggles Zeigler. Col. Joseph May and Elizabeth May, the second wife of Dr. Amos Windship, were first

married Elizabeth May,¹ a daughter of Ephraim May and Zibiah (Cravath) May, by whom he had four children: John Cravath

cousins, being grandchildren of Ebenezer May (1692-1752). Charles May Windship (1809-1865; H. C. *m* 1829) was a son of Dr. Charles Williams Windship. (For Dr. C. W. Windship, see Suffolk Deeds, exc. 150, exci. 45, excii. 45.)

Desire Windship was born in 1777, was twice married, and died in 1843. (Leland Magazine, p. 177.) She was married to her first husband, Warren Hall, at Christ Church on September 6, 1798.

Sarah (or Sally) Windship is stated in the Leland Magazine to have been born in 1780, to have married Charles Stuart, and to have died in 1830. The date of birth would seem to be an error, since the Alliance sailed from Boston January 14, 1779, and on its return reached Boston August 16, 1780 (G. W. Allen, Naval History of the American Revolution, ii. 371, 529): hence Mrs. Windship could hardly have had a child born in 1780. Perhaps the Sally Windship, daughter "of Amos Windship," who was baptized at the Brattle Square Church June 9, 1776, was the daughter of Dr. Amos Windship.

¹ The marriage intention was recorded April 8, 1784 (Boston Records, xxx. 453), but when the marriage took place is not known.

Ebenezer May (1692-1752) had, among other children, Samuel (1723-1794), Ephraim (1728-1797), and Moses (1730-1798). Samuel May (1723-1794) was the father of Col. Joseph May, whose daughter Catharine was the first wife of Dr. Charles Williams Windship. Moses May (1730-1798) had a son Perrin May (1767-1844). Ephraim May (1728-1797), who married Zibiah Cravath, left eight children, among them Zibiah (wife of Stephen Gore), Elizabeth (born September 11, 1758), Sarah (wife of Deacon William Brown), John Cravath, and Eunice. Curiously enough, the date of her birth (September 11, 1758) is all that is said about this Elizabeth May in the May Family (1878, p. 6). But that she was the Elizabeth May who became the second wife of Dr. Amos Windship is proved by her father's will. Ephraim May died May 28, 1797: "*On Sunday last, EPHRAIM MAY, Esq. of this town. Aet. 69. It would be a criminal neglect of real worth, not to notice the distinguished virtues of the deceased. As a man, as a christian, as a member of civil and domestic society, and in every relation which he sustained, he adorned humanity, did honor to religion, and was greatly useful; having served his generation according to the will of God, he now rests from his labours*" (Columbian Centinel, Wednesday, May 31, p. 3/2). In his will (dated May 26, proved June 13, 1797: Suffolk Probate Files, no. 20726) he mentions "my beloved Daughter Elizabeth Windship," and appoints "my three sons in law, Stephen Gore, William Brown & Amos Windship with Amasa Davis Esq and my nephew Jos. May all of Boston" to be his executors. When administration was granted, the third was described as "Amos Windship Merch^t." Windship signed an inventory dated June 27, 1797, and an account dated August 24, 1797; but thereafter he apparently took no share in the management of the estate. An account "of Amasa Davis & William Brown acting Executors," dated October 21, 1799, contains this item: "1798 July 2 p^d D^r A Winships a/c for attendance and medicines 21.72."

In her will (dated November 15, 1798, proved January 15, 1799: Suffolk Probate Files, no. 21004) Eunice May appointed her brothers-in-law Stephen Gore and William Brown her executors, and bequeathed a certain sum "in trust for

May Windship, Elizabeth Windship, Lettsom Windship, and Charlotte Windship.¹ About March 15, 1808, he married Abigail

the following purposes that the said Brown & Gore . . . shall put said sum to Interest and pay such Interest as the same may become due to my sister Elizabeth Windship for her sole and separate use during the life of her Husband Doct^r Amos Windship and upon his Death that my said Trustees pay the said principal sum to the said Elizabeth Windship if then living or if not to such of her Children present & future as may be then alive for her or their use forever, and in case of the Death of the said Elizabeth before her said husband that they then pay the said principal sum to such of her Children as may be living and I order that her separate receipt alone shall be a discharge to said Trustees for said interest during the continuance of her marriage with her said husband."

¹ On May 14, 1804, John Cravath May Windship, "a minor more than 14," and Lettsom Windship, "a minor under 14," were placed under the guardianship of Perrin May, who was a first cousin of the children's mother; and Elizabeth Windship and Charlotte Windship, "under 14," were placed under the guardianship of William Brown, Jr., presumably a son of the children's mother's sister Sarah (May) Brown. (Suffolk Probate Files, nos. 22142-22145.) Doubtless John Cravath May Windship was named for his mother's brother, John Cravath May; and Lettsom Windship for Dr. Lettsom. Lettsom Windship's name is wrongly given as "Letsone" in the Leland Magazine, and as "Letson" in the index to the Suffolk Probate Files.

The papers filed with Ephraim May's will contain interesting information in regard to the last days of Amos Windship's second wife and her children. Among them is the following, from an account dated June 11, 1804:

D^r the Estate of M^{rs} Eliz^a Windship dec^d in a/c with W^m Brown
as the act^g Exec to y^e will of E. May Esq dec^d

1803 Dec. 20	At this date I settled with M ^{rs} Windship in full	
to March 26, 1804	I paid repairs on her house in Hanover Street	10.91
March 26	To Cash enclosed her at Exeter p ^r Order & Receipt	100.00
April 3	To Cash paid Stage hire and my Journey & expences to, at, and from Exeter, to take care of her children & property after her decease	16.72
	To Cash paid her funeral expences and apparel for her Children at Exeter	54.38
	To Cash paid sundry debts showed in Exeter & for support of her children till they wu'd return to Boston	51.07
May 12th	To Cash paid Stage hire and apparel for her children	26.44
	To Cash paid at Probate office in Boston	2.50
	To Cash paid D ^r Amos Windship from the proceeds of furniture, sold at Auction in Exeter	50.00
	To Cash lent Charles Windship for his note on Int.	50.00
		<u>\$362.02</u>

It is obvious that Mrs. Windship's death took place between March 26 and April 3, 1804, and the exact date is given in the Columbian Centinel of April 11:

Lawrence,¹ a widow, by whom he had no children so far as is known.

Mr. Eliot's biography is in the form of a letter, but to whom addressed has not been ascertained. Nor is the date of composition known, though that must have been between 1816 and 1827. Writing nearly half a century after some of the events recorded, Mr. Eliot not unnaturally fell into inaccuracies here and there; but so far as his statements can be tested from other sources, they stand the ordeal very well.²

BIOGRAPHY OF A RASCAL

DEAR SIR,

In conformity to your request, I will endeavour to note such circumstances as have come to my knowledge respecting the very eccentric person of whom we were conversing a few days since. It is to be

"In Exeter, N. H. suddenly, on the 27th ult. Mrs. ELIZABETH WINDSHIP, daughter of the late Ephraim May, Esq. of this town" (p. 2/3).

John Cravath May Windship was born January 7, 1789 (Faculty Records, vii. 394), and was baptized at Christ Church in the same month; was at the Boston Public Latin School (Catalogue, pp. 136, 137); graduated at Harvard College in 1809, having a Commencement part (Faculty Records, viii. 220); studied law and began practice at Rapides, Louisiana, where he died in 1814.

Elizabeth Windship was baptized at Christ Church March 10, 1793, and married Joseph R. Folsom of Bucksport, Maine.

Lettson Windship was born in 1795 and died at sea in 1818.

Charlotte Windship, born in 1798, married Joseph Cowdin, and died in 1820.

The documents cited seem to show that Dr. Amos Windship was looked somewhat askance at by his relatives. It is true that he was an executor of the will of his father-in-law Ephraim May, but he served actively only a few months; he is not even mentioned in the wills of Charles Williams and Mrs. Desire Williams; the bequest of his sister-in-law Eunice May to his wife and her children was so tied up that he could not touch it; when his second wife died she was described not as his wife but as the daughter of Ephraim May, and her children were placed under the guardianship not of their father but of her relations.

¹ The marriage intention was recorded January 21, 1808 (Boston Records, xxx. 498), but the marriage did not take place until March: "MARRIED] — In this town, . . . Dr. Amos Winship, to Mrs. Abigail Lawrence" (Columbian Centinel, March 16, 1808, p. 2/3). Cf. p. 170 note 1, below.

² The dates of births, baptisms, and marriages thus far given have been derived (except where otherwise specified) chiefly from Records of the Church in Brattle Square, and from Boston Records, vols. xxiv, xxviii, xxx. Other allusions to Dr. Amos Windship will be found in Boston Records, xxvii. 63, 64, 228. The Amos Winship referred to in Boston Records, xxii. 297, 447, was probably Amos Winship (1750-1801), the second cousin of Dr. Amos Windship. In the same volume (pp. 233, 238) the firm of Bell & Winship is mentioned. The names of Charles Williams, Daniel Bell, and Dr. Amos Windship are constantly associated in deeds and other documents.

lamented that so many particulars must be mentioned, which do not redound to his credit & reputation, but all shall be put down. The former part of his life to about the sixteenth year of his age was spent among his relations in the country; who were Farmers, & kept him at work. Leaving a laborious life he entered College in the year 17 He remained there about six months¹ & was freshman to N. T.² of Newburyport who was a monied Lad. Frequently missing money from his desk, suspicions were excited against our friend. One day in order to ascertain who was the pilferer if possible, he pretended to be obliged to leave Cambridge a few days, his chambermate being also absent. It was customary for freshmen to study in their senior's rooms, and he left the care of his room with Windship. Returning after a few hours, he enquired if any one had been there? was assured that no one had, & that he himself had not been out of the room, not even to prayers. On examining his desk, he missed four guineas, and directly charged his freshman with the theft. It was strenuously denied, but symptoms of guilt appearing in his countenance, he was searched and no money found. But T. insisted upon his leaving College at once or he would

¹ There appear to be no references to Windship, while an undergraduate, in the Corporation Records or in the Overseers' Records, and only three in the Faculty Records. On November 27, 1767, is this entry (Faculty Records, iii. 64):

Change of Chambers Agreed also that Ballantine jun^r & Windship live in Massachusetts
N^o 4.

The second occurs under date of June 10, 1768, in the hand of President Holyoke (iii. 87):

Winship Amos Springf. Suff. Aug. 22. 1746. 21.3

In the margin is written, in another hand, "left College Aug./68." The age "21.3" has apparently been altered from "22.3," though possibly it is "22.3" altered from "21.3." As previously stated (p. 141 note 4, above), Windship was born August 10, 1745. Hence the year "1746" is certainly an error. The date "Aug. 22" may be due to the fact that in the eighteenth century it was a common blunder to turn Old Style into New Style by adding twelve instead of eleven days. Precisely what town is meant by "Springf. Suff." as the place of residence is uncertain. A year before entrance Windship had been living in Sherborn (see p. 141 note, above).

The third and last entry is again in the hand of President Holyoke: "Mem^o Winship del^d up his Chamber. Jul. 27. 1768" (iii. 89).

The list of Freshmen placed on June 10, 1768, contains 56 names, that of Windship being 48. In an alphabetical list of "Hebrew Grammars del^d to the Freshmen Sept. 1767" (iii. 55) occur 55 names, that of Windship being lacking. From this fact, and from the further fact that his age at admission is given as three months over 21 years, it is reasonable to infer that he did not enter College until November, 1767; and if so, then he remained in College about eight months.

² Nathaniel Tracy (H. C. 1769): see *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, xxv. 193-197.

prosecute him, he wisely followed his directions, and ran away without taking up his bond, & did not finish his education there, or at any other seminary. After a few days the sweeper on removing the bedstead in T's room, found a guinea under each Bed post. Sometime after this, I find that he studied physic with Doct Lincoln of H.¹ but know nothing of his character or conduct there & so suppose it was unexceptionable. He commenced business at Wellfleet on the Cape where nothing particular is told of him; excepting that a finback whale was left in the harbour one sabbath morning. Great bustle was made about it, & altho' no one went to meeting, they were so observant of the day that they could not be prevailed upon to go after the whale, although many of them were professed whalemén. Our doctor just before the tide came in got a whale boat, and arguing that providence had presented a boon to them, which it would be absolutely sinfull to throw in his face, prevailed upon a sufficient number to go off & they succeeded in taking the whale.

After some time, he removed to Nantucket & practiced as a partner with the old doctor² who was settled there, but growing into years, he wanted an assistant. There he practiced to acceptance; & I have heard many persons speak very respectfully of him. But the scene was too confined; and he removed to Boston in the year 1774. In this place he was confined, when the intercourse was cut of after the rout of the British in 1775. In the disguise of a sailor, with his head shaved & covered with

¹ Dr. Bela Lincoln (1734-1773; H. C. 1754) of Hingham. In the *Leland Magazine* it is stated that Windship studied under Ezekiel Hersey (H. C. 1728) of Hingham, who died December 9, 1770. (Cf. our Publications, xix. 284.) The following document (Suffolk Deeds, cxix. 13) is dated April 11, 1770, and was acknowledged April 4, 1771:

I Amos Winship of Hingham . . . Phyⁿ In consideration of the sum of Sixty three pounds L M: by me received of Bela Lincoln of Hingham . . . M.D: before the sealing hereof, . . . Do Grant Bargain sell and Convey unto the said Bela Lincoln . . . all the Right and Title that I have or may have to a Reversion in the estate of my late honored father Nathaniel Winship dec'd whether real or personal estimated at Eighty pounds Lawful money and now improved by my mother Mercy Day. To Have and To Hold the said granted premises unto the said Bela Lincoln . . . And I the said Amos Winship . . . do hereby covenant with the said Bela Lincoln . . . in manner following that is to say that at the sealing hereof I am the sole owner of said granted premises . . . provided always . . . that if I or my heirs Exōrs or Admōrs or any of them shall pay the said Bela Lincoln . . . the sum of Sixty three pounds L M: on or before the first day of June Anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and seventy two then this deed with a bond bearing even date with this Instrument shall be void . . .

AMOS WINDSHIP

² His name was Kendrick: see p. 171, below.

a milled cap, he escaped from the town, & got employment as a surgeon in the military hospital at Cambridge,¹ where he continued several months, was very intimate with the Director general Doctor Church,² who being charged with holding a treasonable correspondence with the Enemy, our Doctor was suspected of having concern with him, but the suspicion soon died away, and he was never called to an account. For years he was employed in the Navy of the United States, was first Surgeon of the Alliance, when president Adams went in her to France as plenipotentiary; & to Holland.³ Our Doct visited Paris, where he arrived in the evening.⁴ He put up at a Hotel in which his friend Duncan Ingraham of Boston lodged & slept in the same chamber. Early in the morning he arose to look out of window. Astonished at the multitude of people who were passing, he became bewildered & singing out to his fellow lodger, Dunc! Dunc! quick! quick here are the mobs going to fight about the North End pope!

While in paris, a number of Americans were taken suddenly ill & the Doct was asked to visit them. He was alarmed at their symptoms &

¹ "Winship, Amos (Mass). Surgeon's-Mate Hospital Department, 1776-1777" (F. B. Heitman, Historical Register of the Continental Army, 1914, p. 600). Cf. Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War, xvii. 623. Under date of December 23, 1775, Ezekiel Price notes in his Diary: "Last evening, Dr. Winship stopt here. He is from Newport" (1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, vii. 222). This may or may not have been our Dr. Amos Windship.

² Benjamin Church (H. C. 1754).

³ Here Mr. Eliot's memory was somewhat at fault. John Adams sailed from Boston February 13, 1778, on the frigate Boston, commanded by Capt. Samuel Tucker. He left the Boston at Bordeaux April 1 and reached Paris April 8, 1778. (Diary, Works, iii. 94, 118, 120, 121.) It was in the following year that the Alliance was ordered to bring Adams back, and Adams actually spent several weeks on board of her, when his vessel was changed to the French frigate Sensible. Adams left Passy March 8, 1779; reached Nantes the 12th; left there the 21st, and on the 22nd wrote: "This day we arrived safe on board the Alliance, . . . The frigate lies at St.-Nazaire, where are several French vessels of war, but none so large as the Alliance." On May 10 the Alliance set sail for L'Orient, arriving there the 12th; and on June 17 Adams wrote that the "Captain of the Sensible, sent his *canot* on shore for me and mine, and here I am in full possession of my apartment. Sailed about three o'clock in company with the Bonhomme Richard, Captain Jones, the Alliance, Captain Landais," etc. (Diary, Works, iii. 192, 194, 199, 200, 210). Adams wrote in his Diary, May 11, 1779: "Dr. W. told me of Tucker's rough, tarry speech about me, at the navy board: 'I did not say much to him at first, but — and — my eyes, I found him after a while as sociable as any Marblehead man'" (iii. 200).

⁴ "This day Dr. Winship arrived here [Paris] from Brest" (February 12, 1779, J. Adams, Diary, Works, iii. 191). A letter from Windship to Franklin dated Brest, April 1, 1779, is owned by the American Philosophical Society.

being interrogated as to their disorder egad, gentlemen it is bad enough, a devilish sort of fever I assure you. What fever do you call it Doctor? Why, Why 'tis the pectick fever & a cursed fever it is too. The gentlemen anxious about their countrymen requested Doct Brooks,¹ Surgeon to the Frigate *Bonne Homme Richard* to visit them, when lo! He found them all broken out with the measles. This is the origin of his nickname, Doctor Pectic which you have often heard applied him. When he rejoined the ship, a mutiny among the officers against the Captain existed; & there was much disturbance on board. The Doctor was Jack on both sides, but the Captain,² in his printed Journal, of the cruise complains, that having found it expedient to direct that no boat should go on, shore, the Doctor stole one & was absent several days. The *Alliance* was ordered to sail in concert with the *Bon Homme Richard*, the famous Paul Jones being Commodore. They soon fell in with the British Frigate *Serapis* which was much superior to either of the American frigates. The *B. Homme Richard* was to lay her alongside, while the *Alliance* was order'd to rake her from the stern, fore, & aft. Capt Landais who commanded her, was a frenchman of great nautical experience & reputation, probably mistook his orders from ignorance of our language, instead of taking his allotted station, sailed round, & being near sighted, poured a broad side into the American ship, by mistaking her for the *Serapis*. Being hailed by Jones, & ordered to his proper station, he fell so far to leeward in his endeavour to gain it, that he was unable to get into the action. The two ships were engaged Yard arm & yard arm. The carnage great, & a deficiency of hands to dress the wounded. As the *Alliance* was likely to do no further service, the Com-

¹ "I was obliged to leave Joseph Stevens sick of the measles at the tavern. This was a painful circumstance to me, although I took all the precautions in my power, by speaking to . . . Captain Landais, and Dr. Winship, to look to him, and engaged a careful woman to nurse him" (April 22, 1779, J. Adams, *Diary, Works*, iii. 195). Dr. Lawrence Brooks, surgeon of the *Bon Homme Richard*, is several times mentioned in Adams's *Diary* (iii. 202, etc.).

² In J. H. Sherburne's *Life and Character of John Paul Jones*, Windship's name is wrongly given as "Arnold Winship" in the 1825 ed., p. 146, and in the 1851 ed., p. 140, but appears correctly as "Amos Windship" in the 1851 ed., p. 367. Cf. *Logs of the Serapis—Alliance—Ariel* (ed. J. S. Barnes, 1911), p. 20. He is also wrongly called "Arnold Winship" in the *Calendar of John Paul Jones Manuscripts in the Library of Congress* (1903), p. 315.

In the first part of the "Memorial, to justify Peter Landai's Conduct during the late War" (Boston, 1784), Landais refers to "the Surgeon of the *Alliance*" (p. 23), and prints a certificate signed by Windship "On board the ship *Alliance*, October 21, 1779" (p. 46); but there is no allusion to the episode of rowing from the *Alliance* to the *Bon Homme Richard* related by Mr. Eliot.

modore sent orders for the Chief Surgeon to come on board his ship; which he did at the great jeopardy of his life. Our doctor has often narrated the circumstances to the writer, he observed that being exposed to the shot from both ships, he laid flat on his back in the bottom of the boat, the british marines pelting her with small shot, while she was rowed up; but he got into the American ship unhurt, being reserved for many curious adventures. The decks being covered with dead & wounded, his assistance was much wanted. The British ship was taken, & the American which was an old French Frigate,¹ nearly worn out, though imposed upon the American Agent, was so much injured, that the crew were all obliged to be crowded into the British ship, & she was abandoned. The prize with the Alliance went into the Texel. Here the Serapis was demanded by the British Ambassador as prize to a pirate; the American nation having not then been acknowledged by the Dutch government. The prisoners had received so much kindness & attention from our Doctor, that Sir Joseph Yorke² the British Ambassador sent him a present of one hundred guineas. A boy named Barstow, a powder monkey on board the Serapis, was very dreadfully burned, by the explosion of some cartridges on deck during the action. He acquired such an affection for the Doctor, that he could not be separated from him, accompanied him to Boston & continued with him a voluntary & faithful servant for many years.

When the Alliance returned to America,³ the Doctor quitted the service, & commenced Merchant, in company with a Brother in law Deacon Daniel Bell.⁴ The first enterprize in which they were concerned, was to get a cargo of Oil from Nantucket to Great Britain. He took a trip to New York & obtained a private licence therefor. Some merchants in London being privately in the concern a Ship was loaded, & proceeded on her voyage, the Cargo being paid for by bills on an American merchant in Amsterdam. They were honoured. The ship with the Doctor on board, was to hover on the coast of England; to be taken by a british privateer & then claimed by the London partners. The Admirals protection was to screen him from all other captures. Unfortunately for the adventurers peace took place while he was on the

¹ The Alliance was built at Salisbury on the Merrimac in 1778 (G. W. Allen, *Naval History of the American Revolution*, i. 336). The *Bon Homme Richard* was originally "an East Indiaman called the *Duc de Duras*, . . . was fourteen years old, unsound, and a dull sailer" (ii. 442), but Jones accepted her, though changing her name.

² Sir Joseph Yorke (1724-1792), created Baron Dover in 1788.

³ The Alliance reached Boston August 16, 1780: see p. 147 note, above.

⁴ For Deacon Daniel Bell (1752-1791), see p. 145 note 1, above.

ocean. The privateers were called in & hauled up. After standing off & on for a reasonable time, he learned that peace was made, & he then thought there would be no obstacle to his making a good voyage, by going immediately into the Thames & selling the oil. He was ignorant of the different standing which Americans held from what they did, when we were british subjects. His British Copartners would know nothing of him. And the Cargo being entered as American, was subject to the foreign duty, which amounted to more than it was worth. Stock & block went to pot; & the American adventurers were indebted for the cargo to those merchants who honored their bills in Amsterdam. The enterprize terminated in the ruin of the whole american concern. As the Doctor appeared only as super-cargo, he escaped any pecuniary loss, but he suffered much persecution from the creditors of Deacon Bell when he returned to America.

While he was in London, M^r Dickinson, the merchant on whome he valued himself, became very sick. He was attended by Doct Letsom¹ of London. Some person was wanted to pay attention to him; who was familiar with sickness. The Doctor offered his services, which were accepted, and he removed his quarters to M^r Dickinsons house. Doctor Letsom being called to a distance from the city, left directions for his treatment with our friend; who thinking the bark might be thrown in, to advantage, made a liberal use of it, & with so much success, that when Letsom came back, his patient had become almost a well man. This was the commencement of an intimacy between the two physicians which afterwards turned to much advantage to our Doctor. M^r Dickinson was so sensible of the benefit he had derived from the judicious treatment he had received from the Doctor, that he also became a friend to him, and as his pecuniary prospects were blasted, he obtained an invoice of drugs & medicines for him, for which he became responsible, and advised him to enter into the business of a druggist, when he should return to America. The Doctor either forgot payment was to be made for the medicines, or was unable to do it; & M^r Burgess, the partner of M^r Dickinson was about making an attachment of his property, but was prevented by express orders from M^r Dickinson, who finally lost the whole debt. Upon the Doctors arrival in Boston; a new difficulty arose. The creditors of M^r Bell, his late Copartner were about making an attachment upon the drugs. So that he was obliged to make them over to M^r Burgess, as agent for Dickinson, by which means he was kept out of the use of them for many months, till by process of Law, they

¹ Dr. John Coakley Lettsom (1744-1815), though never in this country, had many American correspondents.

were delivered up to him. But the Lawyers milked him well. During this time he lost his wife,¹ who was a very valuable woman, by whom he had a number of Children, some of whom are still living. Fame or scandall reported that within a fortnight after her decease, He was caught in bed with the maid servant by the nurse

See him now commence drugist! with the assistance of a young man whom he had brought from England, who had been brought up a working Chymist he carried on the business with some reputation, paid his addresses to a Miss May,² a young lady of good character & respectable connections. The day of marriage was set & all things nearly in readiness, when his ill luck stepped in, & a disorder appeared upon him to which single men are sometimes subjected & with such formidable appearances, as render'd a postponement of the wedding absolutely expedient. An excuse of some kind was to be contrived & here a circumstance which had been thought very untoward, now turned out lucky. He had suffered from a large wen, just under one of his ears, it had been disregarded for several years. The doctor now thought it had put on appearances of a bad *cancer* & submitted to an extirpation of it. By the time the wound was healed, he had got well enough to consummate the marriage.

For a number of years he lived respectably, did considerable business & grew into esteem. Being an attendant at King's Chapel, he became a zealous Unitarian, was active in getting forward the alteration in the Liturgy, & was one of the committee for obtaining subscribers for the new form.³ Soon after for some reason best known to himself, he was converted to a zealous Trinitarian, left the Chapel, & attached

¹ When Windship's first wife, Desire (Bell) Windship, died is not known: see p. 145 note 1, above.

² Elizabeth May (1758-1804): see p. 147 note 1, above.

³ Windship's name is not found in Foote's Annals of King's Chapel, and it seems likely that Mr. Eliot confused him with his step father-in-law, Charles Williams. Mr. Williams owned a pew (as early as 1775) and a tomb in King's Chapel and was vestryman in the years 1784-1786. On February 20, 1785, it was voted to make changes in the Liturgy, the committee for that purpose consisting of the two wardens and of seven other members, one being Mr. Williams. The committee made its report on March 28, and on June 19 the proprietors voted, twenty yeas to seven nays, Mr. Williams being one of the latter, that "the Common Prayer, as it now stand amended, be adopted." On November 17, 1787, Mr. Williams signed a protest against the ordination of Mr. James Freeman, which, nevertheless, took place the next day. A few days later the wardens prepared a vindication of the proceedings of the society, in which they stated that Mr. Williams "voted for many of the alterations" in the Liturgy. (Foote, Annals, ii. 323, 327, 328, 331, 381, 387, 391, 392, 393, 600, 608, 619.)

himself to the North Church called Christ Church, where a young man named Montague officiated as reader. Here he became active & useful, obtained by subscription & oratorios, sufficient money to put the church into handsome repair. Behold him now a church warden.¹

A second trip² to England now followed. As Church Warden he had under his care the Cemetary in the cellar of the Church, in which were deposited the remains of many British officers, some of whom died of sickness & others mortally wounded in Battle. Among these was the brave *Major pitcairn*³ of the Royal marines — his widow lived in London; his brother was physician to the King, & his son to the prince of Wales. The Doctor was introduced to one of these gentleman, & offered to superintend the removal of the Major's coffin & its contents, if it would afford any satisfaction to his friends. This offer procured him the notice of the Lady, & the Two Doctor Pitcairns. After obtaining a credit for a very large assortment of Drugs, he returned to Boston. The Major was a very large & stout man, was well known to the inhabitants of Boston & notwithstanding the errand he was sent here upon,

¹ It has already been shown that the relations between Mr. Williams and Dr. Windship were very close. Both were wardens of Christ Church, the former in 1789-1791, and also before 1789 and after 1791 he was a vestryman. In September, 1787, Windship subscribed £1.10.0 "towards glasing the windows;" in July of the same year Mrs. Windship gave eighteen shillings towards a certain object; in December, 1792, Windship gave twelve shillings for a stove. On May 28, 1787, he was chosen a warden, and was rechosen March 24, 1788. On December 21, 1789, he was chosen a vestryman. On October 21, 1790, he was one of those who "agree and Consent that the Rev^d D^r Walter should be settled the minister of said Church (Provided) a Reconciliation would take place in the Proprietors and all others that had thoughts of joining said Church;" and he was appointed on a committee of three (one of the other two being Charles Williams, then a warden) "to wait on those Gentlemen belonging to Christ Church in Cambridge to know whether they will relinquish the Rev^d D^r Walter to Christ Church in Boston." On April 5, 1791, Windship was appointed one of three auditors of the wardens' accounts. This was a curious selection, since Windship's own accounts while warden were for years in a disputed state and apparently no settlement was ever made. Entries relating to his accounts are found under dates of September 26, 1791; May 29, June 17, December 4, 1792; April 11, 1793; January 3, 1794; and April 6, 1795. From June 4, 1787, to December 19, 1788, most of the entries in the Proprietors' Records are in the hand of Windship. A reference to Dr. Amos Windship, overlooked in the Index, is in 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xv. 170.

² About 1790: see p. 166 note 2, below.

³ Major John Pitcairn's brother was Dr. William Pitcairn (1711-1791), and his son was Dr. David Pitcairn (1749-1809). For notices of them, see W. Munk, Roll of the Royal College of Physicians, ii. 172-174, 353-357; The Gold-Headed Cane (ed. Munk, 1884), pp. 112-144; Dictionary of National Biography.

such was his gentlemanlike deportment, he had their respect. The sexton¹ of the church taking advantage of this disposition in the people used to shew a set of human bones in a very large coffin as those of the Major. This Coffin with its contents were taken out, packed in a box, *marked an Organ*, sent to London & deposited among the Major's relatives.² But the probability was that the bones were those of a Lieutenant of the Major's battalion, who was much like the Major in size & shape. He died of an inflammation of the brain, this is probable from the circumstance of a large *Blister* plaster upon the head which was in this coffin, & which was removed by a friend of the writer. A few months after, Capt Edward Davis handed to the Doctor a handsome gold watch, which he said was a present to him, from a Lady, who chose to be unknown. It was probable it came from Madam Pitcairn, as the Doctor on visiting London a third time, waited upon her to pay his respects;

¹ Presumably either Robert Newman or Alexander Davidson. On December 19, 1788, Newman was severely reprimanded by Windship; and on April 20, 1789, Davidson was chosen sexton, though his term of office is somewhat uncertain.

² In T. J. Pettigrew's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the late John Coakley Lettsom* (1817) are several letters in which Dr. Windship is mentioned and one interesting one in which he is referred to but not named. This letter, dated July 11, 1791, was written by Lettsom himself, and in it he says:

"To-day I received a letter from America, mentioning some honours conferred upon me. These, however, are of little moment; but, what pleased me more, a bust of Washington is now on the Thames. I have not yet seen it, though I long for the pleasure. My library at Grove-hill is about 45 feet long. I am ornamenting it with busts, among which Washington must be conspicuous. Speaking of America, the progress of it is astonishing. . . . My correspondent, who is an American, says, that he himself is struck with amazement at the progress of this new continent, and he is no party man. . . .

"Thou must remember the affair of Bunker's Hill last war, when Major Pitcairn fell. A friend of mine, lately at my house on a visit from Boston, was a particular acquaintance of the Major's, and this officer was beloved by all parties. My friend loved him as a father, although he is an American born and bred. The Major received 30 balls through his body. He was brought into Boston, and buried in the King's church, in a vault by himself in a close coffin, in his regimentals, and is at this moment in a perfect state. I informed Drs. Pitcairn, the brother and the son, of the circumstance, who requested my friend to send the Major to England, and I hope and believe he accompanies my bust of Washington. Brave officers and humane, however adverse you once were, you have (I trust) void of animosity traversed the Atlantic! As history will record you as heroes, may politic oblivion render you associates and friends, in those calm shades where refined intellect alone can enter and associate! In that state, divested of all human follies and animosities, may the glorious virtues which actuated you, survive and flourish in a clime, where virtue alone unites the Christian heroes of all nations and all degrees!"

in the course of the visit she asked him to let her see his watch, which he had taken out to see the time of day. She took a small seal from her own watch, & desired him to put it upon his watch chain & keep it as a token of her gratitude for the trouble he had had in sending the remains of her husband to London. Now, I really do not think that he had any idea that a wrong coffin was delivered to him, but am fully of opinion that the sexton imposed upon him, as he was as great a villain as ever went unhung. The legend on the seal was in french "*Je blesse en secret.*" When the Doctor handed it to the writer to look at, he observed that he fancied it to be a motto *taken from Virgil.*

About this time our Doctor was honoured with a diploma as corresponding member of the London medical society,¹ & requested to point out some physicians of eminence in or near Boston, for whom similar honours were intended. He nominated Doctors *Warren*² & *Dexter*³ & in an elegant Latin Letter acknowledging the honour which was conferred upon him. This letter was written by Dingley,⁴ a latin schoolmaster. The Doctor could not read it & construe it. The gentlemen whom he recommended received the same honour. But Doctor Letsom now found that he had gone too fast in regard to our Doctors election, as the requisite qualification was, that the candidate must be a Batchelor or Doctor of Physic, to neither of w^{ch} had he been admitted. To save himself his friend Letsom advised that he should immediately go thro' the courses of Lectures, requisite to obtain one of them, & if the expence should be more than he could spare, he gave him authority to draw upon him for it thro' M^r Crawley of London to amount of fifty pounds sterling, after the object should be obtained. He complied. & when a diploma⁵ was taken out, he forwarded it to Letsom, together with the discription⁶ of a dissection which he pretended he had made of a subject

¹ Exactly when Windship was elected does not appear, but apparently it was as early as 1788: see p. 160 note 1, below.

² Dr. John Warren (1753-1815; H. C. 1771). Though Dr. Warren was a classmate of Windship's, there appear to be no references to Windship in Dr. Edward Warren's *Life of John Warren, M.D.* (1874).

³ Dr. Aaron Dexter (1750-1829; H. C. 1776). In the "List of the Members of the Medical Society of London. For the Year 1791" (London, 1791), occur the names of "*Amos Windship, M.D. Boston, Massachusetts,*" and of Drs. Aaron Dexter, John Warren, and Benjamin Waterhouse, as Corresponding Members.

⁴ Probably Amasa Dingley (H. C. 1785; *d* 1798). He was usher of the South Grammar School in 1786-1789: see *Boston Records*, xxv. 325, xxvii. 80, xxxi. 153, 175. Cf. *Catalogue of the Boston Public Latin School* (1886), p. 20.

⁵ The diploma could not have been sent before 1790, while the description was sent in or before 1788: see p. 160 note 1, below.

⁶ See p. 160 note 1, below.

in which there were some uncommon appearances & some facts discovered which were not usual. Doct Letsom supposing the communication to be designed for the society, presented it, & it was printed in their transactions.¹ When the volume arrived in America, a grand difficulty arose. The subject of the dissection was a patient of Doct Abijah Cheever,² who made it, & drew up the statement had drawings made, & by request, lent them to Windship, who sent them to London as his own, altho' he had never seen the woman either dead or alive — probably he had no idea of its being published. This produced a newspaper discussion, & a letter from Doct Cheever to the society exposing the plagiarism.

While our doctor was attending to the Lectures at Cambridge, preparatory to his receiving his medical degrees,³ he displayed a new trait in his character, viz. that of an arch intriguer. Wishing to make his own importance appear, he gave intelligence to the Government of the College that he had been entrusted with a secret by Doctor Letsom, which must not be told, w^{ch} was, that Doctor Letsom was maturing a plan to carry into effect a design of the late Doct Fothergill⁴ of London, of establishing a medical school at Cambridge, which he was prevented from executing by the war, which separated the two countries, during

¹ "ARTICLE XXXII. History of a Case of incised Dropsy, with a Dissection, by Amos Winship, of Boston, Massachusetts, M.D. and C.M.S. in a Letter to J. C. Lettsom M.D. Read March 31, 1788." (In *Memoirs of the Medical Society of London*, 1794, ii. 372-376.) The patient was a young woman who "began to have hydropic swellings of the abdomen" early in 1786 and died on October 14 of the same year. "After the trial of powerful diuretics and cathartics, deobstruent medicines without advantage, the paracentesis was performed by Dr. Cheever of this place." Since Windship mentions Dr. Cheever, doubtless Mr. Eliot was right in saying that Windship "probably had no idea of its being published." See also the next note. It will be observed that Windship is labelled "M.D." At that time he had no degree of any sort: see p. 162 note 2, below.

² Abijah Cheever (1760-1843; H. C. 1779). "History of a case of incised dropsy, with a description of the several cysts, as communicated to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Jan. 31, 1787. 14 pp., 1., 1 pl. 18°. [*Boston, n.d.*]" This title is taken from the Index-Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office, United States Army, ii. 867. There should be a copy in the Boston Medical Library, but the volume containing the pamphlet cannot now be found.

³ See p. 162 note 2, below.

⁴ Dr. John Fothergill (1712-1780). There is no allusion to this alleged plan either in Pettigrew's Memoir of Lettsom or in Lettsom's "Life of Dr. John Fothergill" prefixed to Lettsom's edition of Fothergill's Works (1784) and published separately the same year.

which Fothergill had died. The government of the College together with the medical professors¹ caught at the bait excepting Waterhouse,² who being personally & familiarly acquainted with Letsom & had been a student under Fothergill, had never had a hint of it, and probably mortified at the neglect of himself as a confidant, expressed his doubts as to the correctness of the information, and used some undue measures to prevent its taking effect. With this view, he wrote a letter to Letsom, libelling the government of the College, stating that he having had superior advantages in Europe to any of his associates in the medical institution, had become an object to Envy, & on A/c of his religious principles, which he stated to be rigid quakerism (Doct Letsom being a quaker) was suffering great & unmerited persecution. This letter was copied by a Doctor Benjamin Haskell;³ a pupil of Waterhouse of unprincipled morals, and sent to Letsom without signature. This letter was shewn to Windship in London by Letsom, and he made it known to the government of the College. Suspicion fell upon Waterhouse, but proof was wanting, the hand writing certainly was not his, but here the Devil stepped in. Haskell had quarrel'd with Waterhouse, had left his instructions & put himself under the direction of Windship. He betrayed the secret, & when a copy was obtained, & collated with a copy which Haskell had retained, it was demonstrated to be the work of Waterhouse, for Haskell swore to his having copied it from Waterhouse's letter book & when finally the original was obtained, the hand writing was demonstrated to be that of Haskell.

Lo! now see our Doctor a favorite of the College; and a man of great influence among the governors, who conceived he had Letsom at command & thought they could make use of him to advantage. The manner & cause of his leaving Cambridge has been told, viz. that he had run away under the *imputation of stealing*.⁴ Yet now, he sat up a claim to be placed in the order in which he stood in his class, which had never been done in favor of any one,⁵ but he had obtained his medical degree in opposition to law, & nothing venture, nothing have, he pushed his pretensions so forcibly & obtained a petition from his former classmates in such a manner, as caused him to succeed & he stands in the College

¹ Drs. Dexter, Warren, and Waterhouse.

² Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse (1754-1846; M.D. Leyden 1780; h M.D. Harvard 1786).

³ Dr. Benjamin Haskell (H. C. 1789).

⁴ Theft was not an uncommon charge against students in the eighteenth century.

⁵ See p. 162 note 1, below.

Catalogue in as regular a manner as any other man, as a *master of arts*. Those were Winships Halcyon days. He informed the writer of this that Professor Warren¹ had laid the plan for getting him his place in his class, and had used all his influence to effect it, which was also the case in regard to his getting his medical degree without an examination, which he could never have passed reputably, under pretence that having been a chief surgeon in the United States service, it would be derogatory to him & to the service if he submitted to be examined by men who were his cotemporaries & juniors.²

¹ See p. 159 note 2, above.

² At a Corporation meeting held June 9, 1790, the following action was taken:

Degree of A.M.
to be conferred
on M^r Windship. "7. Whereas M^r Amos Windship has represented that he was admitted a Member of this University in the year 1767, but, being under the direction of his Guardian, was induced to dissolve his connexion therewith at the commencement of his Sophomore year, and has petitioned to be admitted to the degree of Master of Arts; and whereas a number of respectable Gentlemen, who were his Classmates, have represented him as a person of such character and acquirements as to deserve the honor for which he petitions, and to have his name inserted in it's place in his Class, and pray that his request may be granted: Therefore,

"Voted, that the degree of Master of Arts be conferred on M^r Amos Windship, and that his name be inserted in the Class to which he belonged.

Degree of M.B.
to be conferred
on M^r Amos
Windship. "8 The medical Professors having represented by a written Memorial, that M^r Amos Windship Physician, desirous of obtaining the honor of the degree of Bachelor of Physic, has complied with the requisitions contained in the medical Institution of this University so far as to have attended two courses of Lectures in their respective branches; and that upon private enquiry they find him capable of passing such an examination, as is prescribed in said Institution; and that, in their opinion, he is duly qualified for the degree of Bachelor of Physic; but at the same time having represented, that he passed an examination publickly for an appointment as Surgeon and Physician in the late Continental army, and bore a Commission as Surgeon of a Frigate in the American service, by virtue of which, he supported the rank of Seniority in the naval Line; and also, that he has been honored by an election into the Medical Society of London; and in consideration of his age and all the circumstances aforesaid, the medical Professors having humbly suggested to the Government of the University the propriety of dispensing with the public examination, usual on these occasions, and conferring the degree on the specialty of the case,

"Voted, that the public examination be in this case dispensed with, and that M^r Amos Windship receive the degree of Bachelor of Physic, at the next Commencement, upon his complying with the other requisites of the medical Institution."

And under date of July 21, Commencement Day, is the entry: "N. B. M^r Amos Windship was admitted to the degree of Master of Arts and also Bachelor of Physic agreeably to the votes 7th & 8th at a meeting of the Corporation on

In a late voyage to London, he obtained credit for a very large assortment of medicines, he connected himself with a Mr Sam. Jane,¹ a man of excellent character, and went into a very extensive line of business by wholesale. He had bought a ship & was his own Merchant. He was now, bigger than ever, forgot his old friends, was flush of money, lived expensively, kept much genteel company. Thinking himself qualified as a merchant he fitted out his ship, freighted her with money obtained from the sale of the goods which he had brought out from London & which he never paid for, was cast away near the harbour of Lisbon, was taken from the wreck when he had been standing up to the neck in water, & instead of taking advantage of the money which he derived from the insurance of Ship & Cargo & wiping off in part at least, the old score, he foolishly bought the wreck as it laid & undertook to repair her there, and after spending all his money, he returned to Boston a poor man.

Yet he kept up a good part. Connected himself again as an active member of the north or Christ Church, Which was then labouring under

June 9, 1790" (College Book viii. 296-297, 299). On June 17th the Overseers "concurred" the Corporation votes of June 9 (Overseers' Records, iv. 48-50).

Amos's allusion to his guardian, under whose direction he was "induced to dissolve his connexion" with the College, is amusing, for his guardian had died in 1765 (see p. 144 note 1, above) and he was himself twenty-two years old when he entered Harvard.

On one point only was Mr. Eliot at fault in his account of Windship's degrees. It was unusual, but not unprecedented, for a student, after leaving College without taking a degree, later to receive a degree and be placed in his Class in the Triennial Catalogue. "A curious fact to which, apparently, attention is now called for the first time is that the Quinquennial contains the names of several men who never received the A.B. degree at all. Three instances may be given." Then follow those of Ebenezer Hartshorn (1732), George Erving (1757), and Amos Windship (1771). (Our Publications, xviii. 339 note.) But probably no Harvard man except Windship failed to take the A.B. degree and yet succeeded in collecting three other degrees, no one of which was obtained as the result of an examination. For his degree of M.D. in 1811, which was, so to speak, an accidental one, see p. 144 note 3, above.

In the 1791 Triennial Catalogue appears "Amos Windship Mr 1790 *M.B.*" The fact that he was a Corresponding Member of the Medical Society of London escaped the notice of the authorities, but attention having been called to the oversight, perhaps in a modest way by Windship himself, in the 1794 Triennial appeared "Amos Windship Mr 1790 *M.B. S. M. Lond. Soc. Cor.*" And this impressive entry, with the addition of "M.D. 1811" in 1812, continued down through the 1885 edition. The date of death (1811: error for 1813) was first attached to his name in 1845.

¹ "Windship & Janes, druggists, S. side of the Market" (Boston Directory, 1796). Cf. Suffolk Deeds, clxii. 91, 128, clxxxii. 29, clxxxiv. 71; and see p. 168 note 1, below.

difficulty in regard to the choice of a Rector. The pulpit had been supplied by a M^r Montague, a low bred man, of much cunning but mean literary abilities.¹ He was a favorite among the lower class of the people. A few of higher order were trying to encrease the reputation of the Church & the Rev Doct Walter,² formerly Rector of Trinity church during our connection with Britain, and who had gone off as a refugee, now returned to this country. It was thought by the better sort, that if M^r Walter could be prevailed upon to accept the Rectorship, he would restore the rank of the Church, by attracting the immediate friends of Episcopacy &c. But Montagues friends, remembered he had been a rank Tory, that he had the disrepute of having sent a servant to Cambridge during the blockade of Boston, who was under inoculation for the small pox in order to spread that disorder among the Americans in Camp. This was then the most formidable disease that had ever been known in this country, the very name of which spread terror far & wide. Whether this was true had been matter of dispute. It was also reported that he had been very severe in his discourses to a Capt Johnson who had been a parishioner to Walter at Trinity Church, but now laid in a hospital on Long island where he had received a severe wound in the famous battle there, of which hospital Walter was acting chaplain. These things would have caused his dismissal as a candidate had not our Windships good or evil genius come to his assistance. He became from a friend, a decisive enemy to Montague, & as violent a friend to Walter. He advised Montague to take himself off, telling him I have been in London & giving hints that he knew enough against him to drive him away if he would not go peaceably. Montague thought he might defy him, but he did not know with whom he had to deal. Now Montague had taken a trip to London, a few years before³ & becoming acquainted with some buckish English clergymen, who wishing to put a trick upon their raw Yankee brother, had introduced him into bad company⁴ . . . Thus armed, our Doctor went boldly on, exposed Montagues folls to the members of the church & it became town talk.

¹ William Montague was born at South Hadley September 23, 1757; served in the Revolution from May 8 to July 16, 1777, from August 17 to November 29, 1777, and from July 15 to October 10, 1780 (Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War, x. 686); entered Dartmouth College in the Sophomore Class, graduating in 1784; began service at Christ Church as reader November 27, 1785; was ordained priest at Philadelphia by Bishop William White July 1, 1787; and died at Dedham July 22, 1833.

² Rev. Dr. William Walter (1737-1800; H. C. 1756).

³ See p. 165 note 1, below.

⁴ Here a few lines have been omitted by the Editor.

Montague abashed retired from the field & his rival got possession of the Church.¹ Doctor Walter not being very submissive & despising

¹ The actual facts in regard to this episode are shown by the following statement, based on an examination of the records of both Christ Church, Boston, and Christ Church, Cambridge, kindly furnished by Mr. Merritt:

When Mr. Montague made his visit to England in June, 1789, he was serving as rector of Christ Church, Boston, under a three years' contract. This contract expired, during his absence, on October 16, 1789. He returned to Boston in August, 1790, and officiated at Christ Church for the major part of the period from August 22, 1790, until May, 1791, though not under a regular contract. Undoubtedly his long absence had alienated the feelings towards him of a considerable portion of the congregation.

In September, 1790, a committee was appointed to confer with the Rev. Dr. William Walter, then located at Shelburne, Nova Scotia, and ask if he would become the minister of Christ Church. But Dr. Walter had already entered into negotiations with Christ Church, Cambridge, and in December, 1790, informed the Boston church that he was so committed that he could only comply with their request by uniting the duties of both churches, and discharging them in part by an assistant. He also suggested that Mr. Montague should officiate alternately with himself. Eventually this plan was carried out and on May 26, 1791, the proprietors of Christ Church, Boston, agreed that Dr. Walter should serve both churches as their minister, and on June 2 Mr. Montague was elected as assistant. A salary of £60 was voted for the year from Easter, 1791, to Easter, 1792, to be divided between the two ministers.

In November, 1791, Dr. Walter's connection with Christ Church, Cambridge, was terminated on account of his having taken up his residence in Boston, although his arrangement with the church had stipulated that he should live in Cambridge.

Conditions eventually became unbearable for Mr. Montague, and on March 12, 1792, he wrote the proprietors asking to be released on account of the friction existing in the church, and stating that he did not wish to officiate on the two remaining Sundays under his contract. In this letter he referred to the actions of "those who call themselves the Doctor's friends" and specified "the unchristian and abusive conduct of some towards me, — their constant endeavor to injure my Character and good name, the dearest possession a man in public life can have — their indecent behaviour during the time of most solemn acts of devotion when I am officiating unbecoming the character of civilized beings much more of the disciples of the meek and lowly Jesus."

The proprietors replied to this request at their annual meeting on Easter Monday, April 9, by electing Mr. Montague as rector by a vote of fourteen as against five for Dr. Walter. Mr. Montague took some time to consider the matter with the idea of trying to see if the opposing factions in the church could be reconciled. But he was apparently unsuccessful, for on May 12 he definitely declined the position, prompted by the desire of acting solely for what seemed the best interests of Christ Church. On May 29, 1792, Dr. Walter was unanimously chosen rector, and filled the office until his death, December 5, 1800.

So far as the records indicate, the relations between the two clergymen were not unfriendly, but the trouble appears to have been caused by the acts of Dr.

Windships character soon deprived Windship of his influence.¹ He quitted the Doctors preaching became a member of the New Brick Church, then under the care of the late amiable Doctor Lathrop.² He

Walter's adherents. Although Amos Windship's name is not mentioned in the records in this connection, it seems not unlikely that he was a principal mover in the matter.

¹ Again Mr. Merritt supplies a note:

It is possible that the explanation as to why Dr. Windship became discredited by Dr. Walter may be found in a memorandum which is in the Christ Church Account Book No. 2, or Treasurer's Ledger, in the handwriting of James Sherman, then senior warden. The page (numbered 30) is headed "Pew N^o 30, Doctor Amos Windship," and the memorandum reads:

This May Certifie all Whom it may Concern That the above Pew N^o 30 was from the first settlement of Christ Church in Boston devoted wholly to the use of His Excellence the Governor and other Gentlemen and so continued untill August 1791 at which time this Ledger was in the Possession of Doctor Amos Windship who had borrowed it of James Sherman Sen^r Warden of said Church in order to settle his account with the Rev^d M^r Montague he the s^d Windship kept it near a month and when returned 'Governors Seat' as it stood above and as it was before was erased and 'D^r Amos Windship' as it now stands, was wrote in its Stead with the account under it which account was brought from folio 91 which was erased about the middle of the leaf, for which I the Subscriber as Warden and for the Honor of said Church was obliged to Lay the Same before the Att^{ny} General and what followed may be seen by turning to a Meeting of the Proprietors of said Church Monday September 26th 1791

JAMES SHERMAN

Dr. Windship had calmly transferred himself, and his account with the church, from a less prominent pew to the front pew on the floor on the right-hand side of the centre aisle. Both pages 30 and 91 in the Account Book show by a noticeable discoloration of the paper that he had removed the original entries with some form of acid.

At the meeting of September 26, 1791, Mr. Sherman informed the proprietors of the facts, as above stated, saying that for the honor of the church he had been obliged to lay the book before the Attorney-General (James Sullivan), who gave him a letter addressed to a magistrate, which, referring to Windship, read in part: "You will have no doubt of the propriety of holding him to answer at the next Supreme Court." A committee was then appointed to audit Windship's account with the church.

At a subsequent proprietors' meeting, October 21, 1791, Dr. Windship made an acknowledgment, in writing, of his fault, admitting the erasure which he said "was an error in judgement (and for which, I am very sorry) and by no means made to injure the Church or any one connected with it." His confession was accepted by the proprietors, who also wrote: "Your Honor is requested (if it can be done) to put a Stop to the charge alledged against him."

² Rev. Dr. John Lathrop (1740-1816; Princeton 1763). Dr. Lathrop was one of Lettsom's numerous American correspondents. In a letter to Lettsom dated November 10, 1789, Dr. Lathrop wrote: "I think it was in the month of June

was a very active & useful member of this society, & was very assiduous in getting the meeting house repaired & other advantages to it. Again pops in the Doctors evil genius, & brought into Boston, a Lady from London who Claimed his patronage as an old acquaintance in that city. She pretended, that she was in pursuit of an husband, who she heard was an actor on the Boston stage. This she found was not true. Having no money & claiming protection from the Doctor, he imprudently took her into his house. Here she proved a bad inmate, was open in receiving visits from other gentlemen & probably gained much influence over him. So that M^{rs} W. insisted upon her leaving her house.

The Doctor soon after this was employed by the creditors of a M^r Clarke who had absconded much in debt, to pursue him to Carolina. He was furnished with money for the purpose & reached Philadelphia. When about leaving that city, he very ostentatiously called witnesses to see him deposit his money in a leather portmanteau. After having rode a short distance, he quitted the stage for a short time upon business. When he returned he found his portmanteau cut into & the money with one passenger gone. This passenger was said to be bound to Albany. The Doctor posted after him & without success. Not being in want of Cash, his employers were suspicious of foul play. Upon interrogating him closely as to his means of supplying himself, he made out a story, that at Albany he had found his English Madam, who had been so lucky as to find her husband there. That he was a very clever honourable man & had paid him for her board while she was at his house, & made him full compensation for all the expence he had been at on her account. Though nobody believed this story, yet no body could contradict it, & he got off clear.

After his return, his health declined & he became bed ridden. Dreadful ulcers broke out upon him, the bones of his nose became carious, & his whole system became so diseased, that his dissolution was daily expected. He was so nauseous, that no one could approach him with out being made sick at the stomach. He was now said to be in a consumption, tho' many thought, if he had not been so fortunate as to find

last, I received your very obliging letter, together with the acceptable present, in books, which you was pleased to make me. . . . Having perused those valuable tracts myself, I put them into the hands of Dr. Windship, agreeably to your request, and also into the hands of other gentlemen of the faculty in my neighbourhood, that they may receive the same pleasure from them which they have given to me." And again on November 16, 1791: "By our common friend Dr. Windship, I received your very acceptable letter, together with publications, which gave me pleasure and instruction." (In Pettigrew's *Memoirs of Lettsom*, ii. 449, 445.)

his English lady, he might not have been so badly affected. He was confined to his house a full year. The first time the writer saw him was creeping about Boston market. He had the appearance of a worn out debauchee. Upon inquiry, he observed to him, that he had been ill in consequence of exposure to the night air in the Dismal swamp in North Carolina. It was not known, that he had ever been there. He gradually recovered his health & became strong & active. He went down to penobscot & acquired reputation as a Surgeon, performed successfully a number of Capital operations & might have got a good living, if his evil genius had let him alone. He quitted Penobscot & returned to Boston, but his glory was departed. He was poor in purse & in character & was not noticed. After collecting some cash & buying a few family stores, he was about returning to the Eastward, but just as the vessel was getting under weigh, he was arrested for debts & clapt into Goal.¹ It was on a friday afternoon, he knew not where to get bond & was put into close confinement. His fund of Cash was half a dollar. With a quarter he bought a basket of Charcoal, with the remainder, a shin of beef & some bread. He borrowed a tin kettle of one of his former friends, who was the only person who knew of his arrest. The debt being to the United States he was not indeed a subject for bail even if he had known whom he might apply to. The man who lent him the kettle told to Mr John Checkley,² who had formerly been his tenant, of his situation. Checkley immediately got admission to him, found him trying to make a soup of his beef, without any thing to

¹ This was perhaps in or about 1795. At all events, on January 1, 1796, "Amos Windship of Boston . . . Merchant" constituted and appointed "Samuel Janes of said Boston Merchant, my full Agent & Attorney, to act for me in all cases whatsoever . . . In particular the said Janes is impower'd to answer unto & defend all suits or processes for or against me . . . concerning the house & land in Wing's lane." (Suffolk Deeds, clxxxiv. 71.) On August 31, 1796, "Amos Windship . . . Physician" sold the house and land in Wing's Lane, the deed being signed "Amos Windship by S. Janes" (id. clxxxiv. 72). Windship's name appears as grantor or grantee in several transactions in 1785-1796 (id. cxlviii. 255, clxii. 91, 128, 135, clxxix. 274, clxxx. 133, 202); and he appears as a witness or is otherwise mentioned in other documents from 1764 to 1798 (id. cvii. 120, cxxv. 65, cxxvii. 158, cli. 213, clxi. 241, clxv. 215, 216, clxxiii. 280, clxxxii. 29, clxxxiv. 1, clxxxvi. 102, clxxxix. 274). On June 27, 1793, he was appointed one of three to appraise certain real estate (id. clxv. 215, 216); and on February 22, 1788, was appointed administrator of the estates of John and Thomas Melony (id. clxii. 91; Suffolk Probate Files, nos. 15201, 18986). See also p. 163 note 1, above. The name of an Amos Windship, but whether our Dr. Amos Windship is uncertain, is also found in 1773-1786 (id. cxxv. 65, clxi. 241).

² Perhaps John Webb Checkley, who witnessed a deed August 31, 1796 (Suffolk Deeds, clxxxiv. 72).

season it, with, it was Sunday noon. Chickley told him he would send him dinner, made his condition known & he had afterwards a comfortable support until a discharge was obtained for him.

He now was appointed Surgeon to the Ship *Herald* in the service of the United States during John Adams fracas with the french.¹ He now held up his head again, & sailed to the West India station. His assistant surgeon was an ignorant worthless Jew named *Abraham Solis*,² who quarrelled with his principal & excited so much difficulty that the Doct thought best to desert from the Ship & come to Boston. The Ship was left without any medical man on board & soon after returned to Boston also. Here Windships enemies sat *Solis* to work in drawing up articles of charge against him; & he was tried by a court martial & it was determined to discharge him wth disgrace. *Solis* charges were for embezzling & selling the medicines in the West indias. This was not proved. But Russels³ was for desertion. This was proved. But here his good genius prevailed, and it was proved that the order was for a court of inquiry only, which the members had turned into a court martial. So the transactions were declared to be null & void. John Adams term of service was about expiring & he did not pursue the enquiry. Windship went to Washington & found Jefferson cared nothing about it. The ship was put out of commission & Windship left to go about his business.

He next took up residence at Exeter and got some employment as a physician. He became acquainted with Governor Gilman, whose brother was a drugist.⁴ He frequented the shop & was detected in stealing money from the drawer. His wife was in Boston, worn down by her husbands disgraceful situation, & fell a victim to it, but had the satisfaction of dying among her friends.⁵ The doctor confessed the theft but plead insanity, on which he was pardoned, & came again to Boston in Sailors habit, ran about with a sword & threatened to kill himself &

¹ "Winship, Amos. Surgeon, 12 September, 1799. Last appearance on Records of the Navy Department, 11 August, 1800" (E. W. Callahan, *List of Officers of the Navy of the United States and of the Marine Corps from 1775 to 1900*, p. 598).

² "Solis Abraham, interpreter of foreign languages, Middle street" (Boston Directory, 1796). "Solis Abraham, interpreter of languages, Newbury street" (id. 1798). "Solis Abraham, Hinchman's lane" (id. 1800, 1803, 1805, 1806). "A. Solis" is found in the "Names of the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston in 1790" (Boston Records, xxii. 469).

³ The *Herald* was commanded by Charles C. Russell: see G. W. Allen, *Our Naval War with France*, pp. 81, 162, 187, 221; Callahan, *List of Officers*, etc., p. 477.

⁴ Gov. John Taylor Gilman (1753-1828).

⁵ Windship's second wife died at Exeter, N. H., on March 27, 1804: see p. 149 note 1, above.

every body else, but did no harm. When he came to himself he went again to the district of maine & turned Methodist exhorter. This did not last long. He came again to Boston, boarded with a widow who had a few thousand dollars. To settle for his board, he persuaded her¹ to marry him.² She wisely endeavoured to secure her property by buying a farm in Dedham, upon which they lived a short time, but he got no business & the farm would not support them. He then persuaded a druggist to set him up in a small Apothecary's shop. As security for the property he induced his wife to mortgage her farm, telling her it was a matter of form only & it could not hurt her. He kept shop a few weeks, then sold the stock for cash, & shipd himself to the Havanna. Here he got some employment, in his profession among the Americans who frequented that port. But becoming a zealous democratic partisan, he was informed that he would soon be taken into custody by the Spanish government, & he decamped. Came to Welfleet, the place where he first commenced business. He now pretended to have lost his wife in Boston; went into mourning & in a short time he paid his addresses to

¹ This was Abigail Lawrence, whom he married in 1808: see p. 149 note 1, above. In the Boston Directory for 1806 is the entry: "Lawrence Abigail, milliner, 58, Middle Street." The same entry appears in the Directory for 1807, except that the address is "69 Fish Street." In the Directory for the same year (1807) is the entry: "Winship Amos, physician, 69 Fish Street." Thus Mr. Eliot's statement that Windship was boarding with Abigail Lawrence is confirmed. No Directory was published in 1808. In that for 1809 is the entry: "Winship Amos, physician, 26 Fish street." That was the last appearance of Dr. Amos Windship's name in the Directory, but in that for 1810 is found: "Winship Abigail, milliner Ship street."

Earlier Directories yield some information. In the first (1789) is the entry: "Windship Amos, physician and apothecary, Hanover-street, near the Mill-bridge." None were issued in the years 1790-1795, 1797, 1799, 1801, 1802, 1804. In 1796 we find: "Windship, physician, Hanover street, near the Mill bridge." His name is not in the 1798 edition. In 1800 is the entry: "Winship Amos, physician, S. Bennet street." His name is not in the issues of 1803, 1805, or 1806. Under the heading "Physicians and Surgeons" in the 1789 edition is "Amos Windship, Hanover-street." No such heading is found in the 1796-1806 issues. Under "Physicians and Surgeons practising in Boston" is found in 1807: "Doctor Amos Winship, No. 69 Fish street;" and in 1809: "Amos Winship, Fish street."

Mr. Eliot's statement about Mrs. Lawrence is confirmed by the Norfolk Deeds. In a deed (xxxi. 71) dated March 10, acknowledged March 12, and entered March 14, 1808, Mrs. Lawrence is described as "Abigail Lawrence of Boston, Widow," and Amos Windship was a witness. In later deeds she appears as Abigail Windship, wife of Dr. Amos Windship. Cf. xxix. 204, xxx. 181, 202, xxxii. 236.

² Inadvertently written "her."

a M^{rs} Kendrick, widow to the physician who immediately preceded him. She had some property in her own hands. She would have married him, but was prevented by her friends, till they could learn whether he was really a widower which it was suspected not to be the case. Two Gentlemen, her friends, called upon the writer for information; and it so happened that his wife lived nearly opposite to his house, was very poor & supported herself by taking in washing. The gentlemen returned & made known the result of their inquiries. Probably his scheme was to get hold of her property & make off with it. He soon after removed to provincetown, where he soon gave up the Ghost.¹ Thus ended his eventful life, which ought to be held up in terrorem.

When Doct Norris letter came to hand, Windship called on Doct. John Eliot² with it, & offered a perusal of it, to convince him of Montagues imprudence & bad principles: Doct Eliot would not see it or hear it read. Sometime after, Windship met Doct. Eliot & mentioned that *Brand Hollis of London* had sent him a new translation of the book of Job, which he would leave at his house for his perusal. *He did so.* When Doct Eliot had progressed some way in it, on turning over a leaf suddenly, he found a *copy of D^r Norris' statement of Montagues case*, neatly interleaved therein. Thus taken unawares *he read it*, gave the book Back to Windship, *saying there Windship, if you are capable of this*, I will take care *never to affront you.* Sometime after it was agreed, that all papers & letters about the matter should be put into Rev Doct. Eliot's hands, not to [be] deliver'd to either, or copied, but in presence of all those concerned: & by mutual consent. He kept them for sometime. They were never applied for according to agreement, but *both Montague & Windship were unremitted in exertions to obtain them* in a clandestine manner. They could not persuade the Doctor to gratify either of them, & how they were disposed of I never knew, or what became of them. I have never heard of them among the Doctors papers since his death, & conclude they were destroyed by him.

¹ He died at Wellfleet June 26, 1813: see p. 144 note 5, above.

² Rev. Dr. John Eliot (1754-1813; H. C. 1772), an older brother of the writer of the sketch.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1923

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday afternoon, 15 February, 1923, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that a letter had been received from Mr. KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK, accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. FRANCIS T. BOWLES offered the following motion, which was unanimously adopted:

Whereas, his Excellency the Governor has recommended to the General Court the construction of a building adjacent to the State House for the accommodation of the Supreme Judicial Court and the State Library, and as the General Court has under consideration at the present time a bill to carry out that recommendation;

Voted, That the President and Council be authorized and requested to recommend to his Excellency the Governor that the proposed building should provide also for the housing of the Archives Division, for the reasons that as a matter of public convenience the State Library and the Archives Division should be in the same building and that it is of first importance that the archives of the colonial and provincial periods as well as those of the Commonwealth should be preserved in a fire-proof building and under conditions of convenient access.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS stated that he and Mr. Merritt had long had in preparation lists of Boston clergymen, churches, and church buildings from 1630 to

1800, arranged both chronologically and alphabetically. It was their intention to make the notices of clergymen as brief as possible, but as new matter had been found in regard to various clergymen (especially the Episcopalian and Roman Catholic), some of the notices had far outrun the limits of the original plan and hence would be presented from time to time as separate communications.

Mr. PERCIVAL MERRITT read the following:

SKETCHES OF THE THREE EARLIEST ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS IN BOSTON

I

CLAUDE FLORENT BOUCHARD DE LA POTERIE

The first public service according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church was held in Boston on Sunday (All Souls Day), November 2, 1788, when Mass was celebrated by the Abbé Claude Florent Bouchard de la Poterie. The Catholic residents in Boston, then probably about sixty to one hundred in number,¹ mainly French and Irish, had leased for the purposes of their public worship the former French Protestant Church in School Street. The church had been built in 1716, and occupied by the French congregation until their dissolution in 1748. It was then sold to the (Eleventh) Congregational Society, recently gathered together under the pastorate of the Rev. Andrew Croswell, the deed of sale containing a proviso that the property should remain "for the sole use of a Protestant Church . . . for the worship of Almighty God, from henceforth and forever more."² After the death of Mr. Croswell in 1785 his society went out of existence, and the church building, by this time considerably dilapidated,³ appears to have passed into private hands.

¹ J. G. Shea (*Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll*, p. 315) gives the number as "fifty or sixty." The Very Rev. William Byrne (*Memorial History of Boston*, iii. 515) estimates them at about one hundred. The Rev. Peter Ronan (*Memorial Volume of the One Hundredth Anniversary Celebration of the Dedication of the Church of the Holy Cross, Boston*, p. 53) says there were about one hundred.

² Suffolk Deeds, lxxvi. 129.

³ Selectmen's Minutes, October 10, 1784: "Rev^d Mr. Croswell having applied to the Selectmen for liberty for his Congregation to meet with him at the South

While there is no uncertainty as to the time and place of the first public service, there is considerable variation in the statements, both of Catholic and Protestant writers, as to the time of arrival and antecedent history of the first priest. Father La Poterie is said to have arrived in Boston in 1784, in 1788, or between 1784 and 1788.¹ He is commonly stated to have been an ex-chaplain of the navy, with occasionally the added statement that he had been dismissed from the service in disgrace.

It seems probable that he came to Boston in the fall of 1788, for it is hardly conceivable that a man of his mental activity and propensity for public self-advertisement, both by means of the local press and by pamphlets, would have remained either in silence or obscurity for any length of time.² In an article on the Archdiocese of Boston, the writer justly remarks that "It is hard to believe that the Abbé would have lived here four years without making his presence known. His advent has all the character of a sudden irruption."³ As to his previous connection with the navy there is good contemporaneous evidence, at least of the current opinion of the time. In an interleaved copy of Isaiah Thomas's *Almanac* for 1788, which belonged to the Rev. Jeremy Belknap and is now in possession of the Massa-

Grammar School for the purpose of preaching during the Winter Months — their Building being much out of Repair, Liberty was accordingly granted, on condition that any damage that shall arise, be made good," (Boston Records, xxv. 254).

¹ Snow (*History of Boston*, p. 340), 1784; Dearborn (*Boston Notions*, pp. 332, 333), 1784; Rev. J. M. Finotti (*Bibliographia Catholica Americana*, p. 224), 1788; Shea (*Life of Carroll*, p. 314), 1788; Kenney (*Centenary of the See of Boston*, p. 190), between 1784 and 1788. Ronan (*Memorial Volume of the One Hundredth Anniversary Celebration*, p. 53): "The nucleus of the first Catholic parish in Boston was formed according to some authorities in 1784 and according to others in 1788. We can take our choice of dates."

² I am indebted to M. Ægidius Fauteux, Librarian of the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montreal, for the information that "Letters preserved in the Archives of the Archbishopric of Quebec show that prior to his founding of the Holy Cross Church in Boston La Potherie had tried to secure a position in Canada. In a letter of October 6th 1788, he asks the bishop of Quebec for the favor of being admitted in his diocese and he boasts of his attachment to his duties, of his zeal, etc. The bishop's answer was a flat refusal. On March 1st following (1789) he wrote the bishop of Quebec, that his situation having changed in Boston, he believed it was his duty to remain in that city, as an instrument in the hands of God to extend his blessings to that part of Northern America."

³ William A. Leahy, in *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States*, i. 17 note 1.

chusetts Historical Society, there is this entry in the month of November: "The first Sabbath in this Month a popish Chapel was opened in this Town — y^e old French Protestant meeting House in School-street, a clergyman who was dismissed from y^e French fleet in disgrace officiates."¹ A French squadron of seven vessels, under command of the Marquis de Sainneville, arrived off Boston harbor August 22, 1788, having sailed from Cape François,² Haiti, on August 2, but on account of heavy weather the ships did not anchor in Nantasket Roads until Saturday, the 30th. The fleet lay at Boston for about a month, and various courtesies were exchanged between the squadron and the town. On September 28, de Sainneville set sail for France.³ It is within the range of possibilities that La Poterie came with the fleet from the West Indies, and remained in Boston when it sailed. Among the credentials which he offered for public inspection at his church, early in 1789, were: "A Commendatory Pass of the Municipal officers of his native town: Also, another Pass, by his Majesty in Versailles, at the time of his passage to the West-Indies."⁴ It is possible that he may have been dismissed from the fleet on account of his previous record in France, which however at that time had probably not become known in Boston, though it is equally possible that the rumor was inspired by local prejudice rather than actual knowledge.⁵ He described himself as "Vice-

¹ The entry is undated, but the previous entry is of November 6, and the following one is of November 13. See also 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, iii. 308.

² Now known as Cap Haitien.

³ Massachusetts Centinel, August 23, 30, September 3, 17, 24, October 1, 1788; Independent Chronicle, August 28, September 4, 18, 25, October 2, 1788. The name of the commander is also written as Senneville, Sainneville and Saneville.

⁴ Address "To the Publick," p. 3. This pamphlet was probably issued late in February or early in March, 1789: see p. 190 note 2, below.

⁵ The American Catholic Historical Researches (vol. xxi.) contains a list of "Chaplains of the French in the American Revolution" compiled from "Les Combattans Français de la Guerre Américaine, 1778-1783," Paris, 1903. (Reprinted as a Senate document, Washington, D.C., 1905.) The compiler identifies the Abbé de la Poterie as the priest mentioned in two entries: in fleet of Comte de Grasse, "L'Hector, 1781-2, . . . Abbe Poterie, secular" (p. 3); in fleet of Comte de Ternay, Le Neptune, February 1780-June 1783, "Abbe Potterrie [secuier priest]" (p. 4). "Abbé Poterie, of L'Hector and the Le Neptune, became the founder of the Church in Boston" (p. 5). "Abbé La Poterie was the founder of the church in Boston, but not otherwise with a creditable record" (p. 6).

Prefect and Apostolick Missionary," having "Ample Powers and Spiritual Jurisdiction in the United States of America." He also stated that he was born in Anjou of noble parents; that he was a graduate of the University of Angers; a Doctor of Divinity; Knight of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, and member of two learned academies in Rome.¹ As to his pedigree he referred inquirers to "a Catalogue printed in *France* three years ago" [1786], the *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*.² In the third edition of the *Dictionnaire*, 1863-1876, there is an account of "Bouchard, Famille noble d'Anjou." In the sixth generation there appears the name, René Bouchard, Ecuyer, Sieur de la Poterie.³ His successor was Claude-Mathieu Bouchard, Sieur de la Poterie, born October 7, 1704, married July 6, 1734, died in January, 1781. To him two sons were born, recorded as: "1. René-Claude, passé aux Isles. 2. Claude-Louis, qui suit."⁴ Claude-Louis succeeded his father, and was recorded as unmarried in 1783. The name of Claude Florent does not appear in the genealogy.

In addition La Poterie stated that the titles of the family were also recorded in the "Records of the Sovereign Council in the Island of Guadeloupe, Anno. 1769, Nov. 15." The *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse* shows that members of the Canadian branch of the family of Le Roy de la Potherie were engaged in military and civil service in the Island of Guadeloupe during the eighteenth century.⁵ Whether La Poterie actually had any claim to descent from either family, regular or irregular, cannot be determined.

Prior to the opening of the church in School Street it is said that Mass was privately celebrated in the house of a Mr. Baury on Green Street at the West End.⁶ This probably refers to M. Baury de Bellerive who is named as churchwarden in a statement made by

¹ Address "To the Publick," pp. 2-4.

² The second edition of the *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse* which he cited was published in fifteen volumes, Paris, 1770-1786. A third edition in nineteen volumes was published at Paris, 1863-1876. In this edition material which had appeared in supplementary volumes in the second edition is distributed in its proper place in alphabetical sequence.

³ *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, 3rd ed., iii. 634. This is the first appearance of the title, Sieur de la Poterie.

⁴ *Id.* iii. 635.

⁵ *Id.* xvii. 900, 901.

⁶ *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States*, i. 18; *Memorial Volume of the One Hundredth Anniversary Celebration*, p. 54.

La Poterie concerning the early affairs of the church,¹ and whose name appears in the Boston Directory for 1789 as "Bellerive de Beaury, gentleman, near Philips's rope walk."

The earliest reference to the opening of the church is found in the Boston Gazette of November 3, 1788: "Yesterday, for the first Time, MASS was publickly read at the French Chapel in School Street, formerly improved by the Rev. Mr. L'Mercier."² The Independent Chronicle of November 6 contained a more detailed account:

On Sunday last, the 2d instant, the Roman Catholic Chapel in School-Street, was opened and consecrated. The holy sacrifice of Mass was there celebrated by Monsieur L'Abbe de la *Poterie*, Priest, Doctor of Divinity, Clerk, and Apostolic Missionary, who pronounced a French sermon at the evening service, and made solemn prayer for the dead, according to the rites and usage of the Romish Church upon All Saints Day. The concourse of people assembled was so great, as to create an apprehension of some unfortunate accident, from the falling of the gallery, and they were obliged to make temporary props for this building, which, although dedicated to the worship of God, threatens immediate ruin, unless seasonably repaired.³

Notice was given that tickets for High Mass on the following Sunday could be obtained at the shop of Mr. Deverell on Marlborough Street, and that "A place in the sanctuary will be allotted to the Reverend Clergy."⁴ At this first service, "The Rev. Abbe de La Poterie, Missionary Apostolic in New England, and Founder of the First Roman Catholic Chapel in Boston," consecrated the church and dedicated it "to the Most High Almighty GOD, under the title and invocation of the HOLY CROSS."⁵ On this occasion the Abbé "exposed, in a solemn manner, to the veneration of the Christians, the true CROSS of our LORD, JESUS CHRIST, which he brought from Rome — has dedicated to God, under the Title of the HOLY

¹ Herald of Freedom, January 8, 1790, p. 1/1.

² Monday, November 3, 1788, p. 3/3.

³ P. 3/3-4. "All Saints Day" should of course have been written All Souls Day. This notice is inserted in the news columns but is placed between quotation marks. Judging from its style it was probably communicated by La Poterie himself.

⁴ Id.

⁵ Massachusetts Centinel, December 16, 1789, p. 2/2.

CROSS, and put this Church, and the Catholick Congregation, under the special protection of the blessed VIRGIN MARY.”¹ It seems probable that the name of the first church, and of the present Cathedral, was thus derived from the relic of the true Cross which he had brought from Rome.²

While the opening of the new church naturally aroused a considerable interest, there appears to be no hostile nor unfriendly criticism reflected in the local press. The writer of a series of letters in the *Herald of Freedom*, signed Francois de la E——, which purport to be communications from a Frenchman in Boston to an absent friend, notes in the issue of December 22 that “A Roman Catholick Chapel is at length opened in this metropolis. This will be pleasing to many of our countrymen. The liberal part of the inhabitants (and to their honour there are but few who are not liberal) are highly pleased with it; and many of the Boston people attend on the worship of God, according to the mode prescribed by the Roman Church.”³

Faculties were granted to Father La Poterie, under date of December 24, 1788, by the Very Rev. John Carroll,⁴ Superior of the Missions in the United States, and in a petition dated January 17, 1789, the Abbé requested that in his capacity as French Missionary he should “be registered in the French Consul’s⁵ Chancery-Office at Boston, to spend our time in this city, here to exercise our cares and vigilance, and to give you all the spiritual assistance in our power.”⁶ An appeal was made to the public, under date of January 29, 1789, for subscriptions for the purposes of fitting up and maintaining the church.

¹ Address “To the Publick,” p. 4.

² *Id.* p. 4.

³ *Herald of Freedom*, December 22, 1788, p. 2/1.

⁴ John Carroll, born Upper Marlborough, Maryland, January 8, 1735; admitted to novitiate as a Jesuit, 1753; ordained priest, 1759; took the four solemn vows and became a Professed Father, February 2, 1771. On June 6, 1784, Pope Pius VI confirmed his appointment as Superior of the Missions in the thirteen United States of America and conferred on him power to administer confirmation; on November 6, 1789, Carroll was appointed Bishop and on August 15, 1790, consecrated as the first Catholic Bishop in the United States at Lulworth Castle, England, by the Right Rev. Charles Walmesley; 1808, Archbishop; December 3, 1815, died at Baltimore. (Shea, *Life of Carroll*; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, iii. 381–383.)

⁵ Joseph Philippe Letombe. Described in *Boston Directory*, 1789, as “Letombe, Mons. Hon. Consul of France, Oliver’s-lane.”

⁶ Pastoral Letter, dated February 22, 1789, pp. 2 and note, 3.

La Poterie stated that an indebtedness of about £100 had been incurred, and that books had been opened in which all benefactions would be recorded. He added that he would provide for his own needs, and that all contributions would be devoted to the purposes of the church. Quite characteristically he combined with this appeal a notice to the effect that he was prepared to give instruction in the French, Latin and Italian languages. On the 20th of April, and thereafter, he proposed to be at his lodgings¹ on week-days from 8 to 11 o'clock in the morning, and also for an hour in the afternoon, for that purpose. He also expressed his desire to open an academical boarding-school at a later period.²

A few weeks later there appeared an elaborate pastoral letter, dated February 22, and signed "La Poterie, Vice-Prefect and Apostolick Missionary, Curate of the Holy Cross at Boston," in which he gave notice of his Ash Wednesday service, and instructions for Lent. This was combined with an "Order of the Publick Offices and of the Divine Service during the Fortnight of EASTER," and an "Abridged Formula of the Priest's Discourse, Made every Sunday in the Church of the Holy Cross." He also gave notice of a High Mass, to be celebrated on St. Patrick's day, March 17, and closed by informing the public that contributions for the church could be deposited at Colonel Hurd's Insurance Office on State Street.³

It is evident that about this time some doubts had arisen as to his character and professions, for he issued another appeal "To the Publick" containing the account of his lineage which has been referred to above. He also stated that "THE ABBE DE LA POTERIE, from false and scandalous aspersions thrown upon him, finds himself forced to give an account to the publick, of what must necessarily establish confidence in him, and command the respect due to the Holy Ministry." A list of credentials was given, some thirteen in number, which were on deposit, and could be inspected, at the church, in substantiation of his graduation, ordination, titles and dignities,

¹ La Poterie's capacity for self-advertisement is shown even in the Boston Directory for 1789, where he occupies about double the space allotted to anyone else: "Poterie (de la) Claude, Roman catholic priest, vice-prefect, and missionary apostolic, rector of the church in south Latin School-street, dedicated to God under the title of the Holy Cross, Oliver's lane."

² Address "To the Publick," January 29, 1789. See p. 190 note 2, below.

³ Pastoral Letter, February 22, 1789. See p. 190 note 2, below.

powers and jurisdiction.¹ The pamphlet is undated, but it was probably issued in the latter part of February or very early in March, 1789.² It appears that an appeal had been made by the French members of the congregation to the Archbishop of Paris, for assistance in equipping the church. In reply, the Archbishop "sent a needed outfit to the church in Boston, but warned the Catholics against wandering priests, and informed them that faculties had been taken from De la Poterie in Paris on account of his culpable conduct."³ The Archbishop's information evidently became known in Boston, and doubtless was conveyed, directly or indirectly, to Father Carroll in Baltimore.

Before long La Poterie came under the suspicion of endeavoring to evade his debts, for he found it necessary on April 24 to publish an address —

To the Publick. AS the absence of the ABBE DE LA POTERRE has given many malicious persons an opportunity of scandalizing him, and circulating reports much to his prejudice, the Publick may be assured that he has not left this town from a fear of being seized for debt, but merely on business relative to his mission. At this time, when strangers

¹ "To the Publick;" the pamphlet of four pages. See p. 190 note 2, below.

² The pamphlet opens with the words: "On the Fourth of February ult. 1789, a FRENCHMAN by the name of LOUIS ABRAHAM WELSH, born and baptised in the parish of *Saint Hyacinthus*, of the *Cabesterre*, Island of *Guadaloupe* . . . being on his death-bed." A copy of this pamphlet in the Belknap Papers, in the Massachusetts Historical Society, pasted into a folio scrap-book, is followed by a printed circular letter, without signature but dated March 3, 1789, and addressed to the Rev. Jeremy Belknap. It apparently was employed as a cover, though whether it had contained this special pamphlet, or not, cannot be accurately determined. La Poterie had evidently had it printed to send with appeals for aid. It reads:

Sir, YOU will readily discover, in the writing, which M. the ABBE DE LA POTERIE has the honour to send you, here inclosed, the spirit and sentiments which animate him; and how weighty and very important the motives are by which he is actuated, since they have for their object, the Divine Worship, the greatest Glory of GOD, and the Salvation and Advantage of Mankind. To interest your benevolence and your goodness in his favour, needs only the trial which he desires you to make of him, with that generous heart and sensible soul, which is the distinguishing character of all good Christians.

Boston, 178

(Transcribed from an undated copy in the Harvard College Library.)

³ Shea, *Life of Carroll*, pp. 314, 315.

from all parts of the Continent will be at New York,¹ and particularly Mr. Carrol, the Roman Bishop in this country, the propriety of the Abbé's being there, to pay his respects, must be obvious to every unprejudiced person. The Abbé, so far from leaving this town in the manner reported, to shun his creditors, has left it with a determination to return speedily; and the Publick are desired to suspend their judgment for a reasonable time for him to visit New-York, and return. His journey was no secret, he notified his intentions to the Church previous to his departure.²

It is probable that Father Carroll had summoned La Poterie either to New York or Baltimore, to make some explanation of his conduct. Belknap wrote May 2, 1789, that "We have lost the Abbé. He has gone, they say, to Maryland, to answer to Dr. Carrol, his superior, for some misconduct. He is, I believe, but a speckled bird."³ At a later period, in one of his many addresses "To the Public," La Poterie gave his own version of this incident:

Mr. L'Abbe sometime since undertook a painful journey to Baltimore, to obtain assistance from the Rev. Father C. and in paying him the first visit, and acquainting him with the small number and poverty of his congregation, hoped that he would exert himself for their relief, and found a mode of paying their urgent debts, which were noticed in the last Herald, but the Rev. father C. . . . paid no attention to the Abbe, and exposed him to the necessity of publicly begging money in Baltimore and Philadelphia, to support him on his journey to Boston.⁴

¹ This reference is probably to the first inauguration of President Washington, April 30, 1789.

² Herald of Freedom, Friday, April 24, 1789, p. 3/3.

³ Belknap Papers, ii. 123.

⁴ Herald of Freedom, January 15, 1790, p. 1/1. I am also indebted to M. Fauteux for a copy of the following letter which La Poterie sent the Bishop of Quebec under date of May 16, 1789. It was evidently written soon after his return to Boston from Baltimore:

"Messieurs les Jésuites du Maryland ont de très vastes projets pour faire revivre dans les Etats-Unis leur Société sous le nom de Clergé d'Amérique, et même de s'élever aux dignités épiscopales en ce continent. Les dépenses nécessaires pour s'efforcer d'y parvenir sont cause que l'Etablissement Catholique de Boston, dont j'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire au commencement de mars dernier, ne recevra aucun secours de leur part.

"Je suis cependant dans la plus criante nécessité, et un writ obtenu par quelque ouvrier pour se saisir de ce qui est dans l'Eglise me force à ne l'ouvrir que le

Carroll's biographer states that "The Rev. Dr. Carroll had also learned that he had been imposed on by an unworthy priest, whose life at Paris, Rome, and Naples was by no means creditable. His conduct in Boston justified the information, and the Very Rev. Prefect deputed the Rev. William O'Brien, of New York,¹ to proceed to New England and withdraw the faculties of the wretched priest."² According to the Rev. J. M. Finotti, "letters from Paris tore the sheep's skin from the wolf's back, and Poterie's ministrations came to a sorry and quick end, on the 29th of May, 1789, when he was sus-

dimanche. Je crois qu'avec une cinquantaine de guinées je pourrais faire attendre tout le monde et me mettre hors de presse.

"Au nom de Jésus Christ l'auteur et le consommateur de notre foi, je sollicite avec empressement ce foible secours de votre tendresse paternelle; et je supplie votre clergé de me l'accorder du moins en emprunt."

¹ Rev. William O'Brien, born in Ireland, 1740; took his theological course at Bologna; labored in Philadelphia until September, 1787; appointed pastor of St. Peter's Church, New York, November, 1787, where he served until 1807; died May 14, 1816. (United States Catholic Historical Society, *Historical Records and Studies*, i. 200, 201.)

² Shea, *Life of Carroll*, p. 315. Cf. Rev. Thomas Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, Documents, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 688: letters calendared of Father Carroll to Rev. Charles Plowden, May 8 and July 12, 1789. These letters are quoted at some length in the *United States Catholic Magazine*, viii. 102, 103. Under May 8, 1789: "I have been grossly deceived by one from whom I expected much, and who opened his ministry in Boston. He is a Frenchman, calling himself La Poterie, and procured indisputable recommendation, but has turned out a sad rascal." Under July 12, 1789: "Some time ago, I was much pleased with the letters, (which were written in the language of an apostle,) of a French priest, who had wandered to Boston. I received several letters of strong recommendation, testimonials, etc., all which joined to his own sentiments of submission, induced me to grant him faculties for a short time." After referring to his beginning services in Boston, Carroll stated that "he proceeded to make some publications which soon convinced me of his imprudence. He soon after discovered himself to be of an infamous character. His faculties are revoked, and he now proceeds to every abuse of me as a Jesuit, aiming at nothing in all my manoeuvres, but to re-establish the Order here under title of American Clergy. . . . His name is La Poterie. Luckily the French corps diplomatique here are well acquainted with his character." Some months later, December 2, 1789, the Rev. William T. Thorpe wrote from Rome to Dr. Carroll in regard to La Poterie's earlier history, stating that he belonged to the diocese of Angers in France, and that he had an income from his family of over £100 sterling a year; that he had disgraced his name and his character in various countries, and had been expelled from the diocese of Paris; and that both at Rome and at Naples he had run away from the city without paying for his lodgings. (*American Catholic Historical Researches*, xvii. 136.)

pending by Rev. W. O'Brien of New York, sent by Dr. Carroll to examine into the charges preferred against him."¹

At about this time an attempt was made to adjust and settle the debts incurred, and "by a writing registered in the said Chapel [of the Holy Cross] . . . on the thirty first of May . . . and signed by many responsible members of the congregation, viz. Messrs. Baury de Bellerive the Church-warden, Patrick Campbell, Mame Mason, Duggan, Julien, Jutau, and several others, it was resolved that all the debts contracted by M. la Abbe should be discharged in one year from the aforesaid date."² It was stated that Masson, the warden, and his partner Garreaux would have in time the means to do justice to creditors.³ The total indebtedness recorded, as shown by a schedule published in January, 1790, was slightly over £86, the leading creditors being:

Mr. Stratford	£43.00.0
Mr. Samuel Hall, Printer	10.00.0
Mr. Benjamin Russell	2.10.0
Col. Dudley Colman	9.17.0 ⁴

Mr. Stratford was undoubtedly Samuel Stratford, the cabinet-maker, in Kilby Street. The bills of Hall and Russell were probably for printing. As for the fourth creditor, the nature of the indebted-

¹ *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*, p. 224.

² *Herald of Freedom*, January 8, 1790, p. 1/1.

³ *Id.* "Massone and Garraux, bakers, Middlecot-street" (Boston Directory, 1789).

⁴ *Herald of Freedom*, January 8, 1790, p. 1/1. The other items in the "Estimate of Debts" were:

Mr. Bell, Carpenter, for three windows in the Church and two shutters,	£3.00.00
Capt. Brown, Providence,	2.08.00
Messrs. Bazin and Poignand, No. 16 Cornhill for locks in the vestry and sanctuary	0.18.00
Mr. John Bright, Upholsterer, Marlborough-Street, for furniture in the Church	2.01.11
Capt. Alexander Mackay, Kilby-Street,	3.11.11
Mr. Joseph Howe, Tinman, Marshals Lane, for boxes for holy oil,	1.10.00
Mr. Samuel Bangs, Kilby-Street,	2.02.00
Mr. Daniel Rea, painter, for an inscription, in gold letters in the Chapel	2.08.00
Mr. Edward Hayes, Cabinet Maker, for 6 picture frames, representing the creation of the world,	0.06.00
Mr. Benjamin Guild, at the Boston Book-Store	2.10.00

ness can be inferred from an entry in the 1789 Directory: "Coleman Dudley, American coffee-house, State-street."

After his deposition by Father O'Brien, La Poterie seems to have planned to remain in Boston and devote himself to teaching. In the *Herald of Freedom*, June 19, 1789, he published an advertisement in reply to a query which had appeared in the *Courier de Boston* (no. 8, p. 63), "*où enseigne-t'on le Francois.*"¹ Referring to his "Address to the Publick" of January 29, he gave notice that on June 22 and every day thereafter except Sunday he would be at his lodgings, 23 Union Street, for the purpose of giving instruction in the languages. He added that he should make no charge, but that he hoped for gifts toward the debts and repairs of the Catholic Church.² The response to this proposal could not have been very satisfactory, for on July 8 he left Boston to go to the Seminary at Quebec.³ He subsequently stated that he was obliged to make the journey to Canada on foot, owing to his poverty.⁴ Shea writes that he endeavored, unsuccessfully, to obtain a position there. He however "inserted in the '*Journal de Québec*' a profuse expression of thanks for the courtesies extended to him."⁵ By the middle of December, 1789, he was back

¹ *Courier de Boston*, Du Jeudi, 11 Juin, 1789, in an article headed "Université de Cambridge."

² *Herald of Freedom*, June 19, 1789, p. 1/1. A similar advertisement appeared in the *Boston Gazette* of June 29, p. 4/3.

³ *Massachusetts Centinel*, December 16, 1789, p. 2/2.

⁴ *Herald of Freedom*, January 8, 1790, p. 1/2.

⁵ *Life of Carroll*, p. 315. M. Fauteux very kindly has sent me a copy of an address which was published by La Poterie in the *Gazette de Montréal* of October 29, 1789. This proclamation appeared in French, and also in English as follows:

MONTREAL, 29th Oct. 1789

The Abbé de la Poterie founder of the first Roman Catholic Chapel at Boston, which he there dedicated to God under the invocation and title of the Holy Cross the 1st November 1788, being just arrived from Quebec in this City, and now on the eve of his departure from this Province of Canada, intending to Boston and from thence to Europe, has the honor to present his most humble respects and thanks to those benevolent people who have shewed themselves eager to lighten the burthen of his troubles, by opening their souls to the dictate of sensibility, and pouring into his heart numerous comforts of every species. He will implore without ceasing the Father of Mercies to shower down every kind of blessing on a country, in which he would have willingly settled: Hoping that the most constant prosperity, the most unalterable peace and fidelity to our holy and august Religion will eternize the happiness of those who live in it. O Happiness of Heaven the only true and permanent one, object of our wishes, term of our sighs

in Boston again after an absence of some five months. He found installed in his former position another French priest, the Abbé Louis de Rousselet, who probably had arrived in Boston sometime in September, with the authorization of the Superior of Missions, Father Carroll.¹ La Poterie promptly came into conflict with de Rousselet, whom he professed to regard as an interloper and one of the instigators of his degradation.² For a few weeks the local papers were weighted with his charges and defences, in the form of long and characteristic advertisements.

He had returned to Boston through Providence, where, on Tuesday December 8, as noted by Ezra Stiles, he had performed the Catholic

and end of our exile, be thou the generous reward of all my benefactors! If thro' necessity and with regret I leave them for the present, I shall ever preserve in my heart the sweet Hope of seeing them again in the mansions of everlasting Felicity. Yes, grant Heaven! that after the painful Pilgrimage thro' this valley of tears and tribulations we may all arrive at the Harbour of Salvation, in the Land of the Living, where we shall be no longer subject to vicissitudes or contradictions.

LA POTHERIE, French Clergyman

¹ See sketch of Louis de Rousselet, pp. 191-211, below.

² I am again indebted to M. Fauteux for permission to print the following letter, addressed to the Bishop of Quebec, from a manuscript copy in the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice:

BOSTON, 2 janvier 1790

MONSEIGNEUR.

Au milieu de vos pieuses occupations, oserai-je supplier votre Grandeur de les interrompre un moment pour me faire la grâce de répondre à celle-ci.

Depuis peu est venu dans cette ville un Ecclésiastique nommé la Poterie, suspendu au mois de juillet dernier par notre digne supérieur, qui publie partout avoir été singulièrement bien accueilli par votre Grandeur, ainsi que par tout votre respectable Clergé, qui dit de plus qu'il étoit pour jamais dans le cas de mériter votre confiance dans toute l'étendue de votre juridiction si les lois du Canada n'y étoient pas contraires, comme étant Ecclésiastique français, qui dit encore avoir reçu de votre Grandeur ou de tout autre Ecclésiastique dans l'étendue de votre juridiction tout ce qui est nécessaire pour célébrer les Saints Mystères, jusqu'aux saintes huiles même dont il se dit porteur. Comme cet Ecclésiastique au mépris de la suspension a osé depuis la fin du mois de novembre commencer de célébrer les Saints Mystères en deux ou trois endroits de notre Amérique, j'ose supplier votre Grandeur de vouloir bien se donner la peine de me répondre à celle-ci à l'effet de connoître clairement la vérité; si votre Grandeur daigne en même temps me donner quelques instructions sur la conduite qu'il a tenue en Canada, elle obligera bien réellement celui qui a l'honneur de se dire avec un très profond respect, Monseigneur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur. Louis de Rousselet, prêtre Missionnaire Apostolique et Curé de l'Eglise Cathédrale de Boston.

service "for the first Time in the State of Rh. Isld."¹ The Providence Gazette of Saturday, December 12, contained the following notice:

Tuesday last, being the Festival of the immaculate Conception of the blessed Virgin Mary, the Reverend Abbe de la Poterie, French Roman Catholic secular Priest, and Doctor of Divinity, celebrated the holy Sacrifice of the Mass in this Town, at the Request of several Catholics of the Roman Communion; and addressed to the Almighty his humble Prayers for the constant and permanent Prosperity of the State of Rhode-Island.²

It is probable that he had returned from Canada by way of New York and Philadelphia, for it must have been at about this time that there appeared a little pamphlet entitled "The Resurrection of Laurent Ricci; or, A true and exact History of the Jesuits," Philadelphia, 1789.³ It was dedicated "To the New Laurent Ricci in

The reply to Father de Rousselet's letter was as follows:

QUEBEC, 1er mars 1790

Votre lettre du 2 janvier au sujet de Mr. de la Poterie, n'est parvenue que hier. L'absence de Monseigneur l'Eveque et le prompt départ du Mr. qui a apporté la lettre m'oblige de vous répondre moi-même à la place de Sa Grandeur.

Mr. de la Poterie a été très mal reçu ici parce qu'il n'avait rien qui attestat la légitimité de son émigration et depuis nous nous sommes beaucoup félicité de l'avoir mal reçu, car il a causé ici bien des peines comme nous avons su qu'il en avait causé à Monseigneur Carroll. Il n'a pas eu le moindre pouvoir Ecclésiastique, même de dire la messe. Et pendant qu'il étoit à Québec, j'ai moi-même fort veillé à ce qu'il ne la dit pas. S'il a reçu des ornements de quelque particulier pour dire la Sainte Messe ou les Saintes huiles, c'est sans autorité.

Qu'il ne dise pas que c'est la qualité de Français qui l'en a sevré, c'est surtout parce que nous l'avons, dès le commencement, regardé comme un aventurier. Pendant qu'il a demeuré à Québec, (je ne sais ce qu'il a fait à Montréal) il ne s'est point du tout conduit selon les avis qu'on lui donnait; il a même fait imprimer des écrits assez inopportuns contre Monseigneur l'Evêque. Quand il s'est enfin déterminé à partir, nous y avons contribué de notre bourse avec bien du plaisir car nous étions fort fatigués de sa présence.

¹ Literary Diary, iii. 375, 376.

² P. 3/2. This notice, which appears in the news columns under the heading of "Providence, December 12," is inserted between quotation marks, and was in all probability communicated by La Poterie himself.

³ It was advertised in the Providence Gazette of December 12 (3/3) as: "Just received, and for Sale by the Printer hereof, *Price One Shilling and Sixpence*. . . ." This was repeated in the Gazette of December 19. In Boston it was advertised in the Herald of Freedom, Tuesday, December 15, 1789, (3/3): "This day is Published, (Price 1/6) and now selling at the Boston Bookstore No. 58 Cornhill, A Pamphlet &c. . . ." The advertisement was repeated in the issues of December

America, The Reverend Father John Carroll, Superior of the Jesuits' (*Footing*) in the United States; Also, To the Friar-Monk-Inquisitor, William O'Brien (*One of his many Contrivers to set his Engines at Work, without interfering visibly himself.*)" Laurent Ricci was the last Superior-General of the Jesuits prior to their abolition in 1773 by Pope Clement XIV.¹ The pamphlet is unsigned but is attributed to La Poterie by Sabin, Evans, and Finotti. The apparently meaningless use of the word "*Footing*" in the Dedication, and its employment in the final paragraph,² taken in conjunction with La Poterie's advertisement quoted below, where the word is used in connection with de Rousselet, afford fair evidence from a bibliographical standpoint as to the correctness of the attribution to him. The style of the pamphlet, which is a violent anti-Jesuit diatribe, bears a marked similarity to that of La Poterie as shown in his various advertisements of this period. In the *Herald of Freedom* for January 8, 1790, he covered three columns on the front page with an address "*To the Impartial Public.*" In the course of it he stated that he "would not have interrupted or quited divine service in the Chapel, but for a cabal of Jesuits." Then after a reference to Father O'Brien, almost in the exact words of the dedication to the Resurrection of Laurent Ricci, he proceeded to assail de Rousselet with a richness of vituperation which might have aroused the envy of the most polemical of Puritan divines of the eighteenth century:

Finally, the Abbe will by no means refrain from rendering a public tribute of praise, homage and adoration to the Almighty, by singing the songs of Sion, in the temple which he has first opened and dedicated to the great creator, and if the jealous and intruding Jesuit, who is at present the priest of the congregation, and whose FOOTING is yet very

18 and 22. In both papers the notice was signed: "By a Friend to good Government." I have not succeeded in locating an advertisement in Philadelphia. The imprint on the title-page reads: "Printed in Philadelphia, 1789. [Price Half-a-Dollar]." It looks as if La Poterie had brought the books along with him, and placed them on sale in Providence and Boston.

¹ "Ricci, Lorenzo, General of the Society of Jesus, b. at Florence 2 Aug. 1703; d. at the Castle of Sant'Angelo, Rome, 24 Nov., 1775" (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, xiii. 33).

² " . . . my Intention was . . . to put the People of America on their Guard, by a true State of Facts respecting that Class of Men who are every Day attempting more and more to gain FOOTING in this Country" (p. 28).

uncertain, shall attempt to impose upon him a scandalous silence, holding in his hands the divine majesty (as audaciously did on Christmas, this hasty and wrongful priest, this wordy and tedious ROSSELET, this very poor orator and bad preacher, not able to persuade a single proselyte, but made to scare every one, by his rough speech, and insupportable accent, and by his eyes dark and hollow, this discordant and melancholy singer, in a word this jesuit by mission, by conduct, by manners, by rule and principle). This will be only an additional inducement to the Abbe, to divulge and publish all the indignities of his brotherhood, in all the orders of the church universal, which has expelled them from its bosom, and to expose the derision already incurred by the ceremonials and Spanish caricatures, and by the disgusting forms of proscribed *Jesuitism*, detesting and despising the fanatacism and intolerance of the latter, and the odious inquisition of the former. Monsieur la Abbe in order to employ himself in some business that will give him a living, submits the following proposal to all his friends in Boston and the town in general.¹

Then followed a characteristic advertisement from "A Man of Letters, associate member to several learned academies," in which he offered to teach the French, Latin and Italian languages, "Application to be made to the Rev. Abbe Mons. de la Poterie at his lodging, union-street, No. 23." This time he announced a scale of charges, three dollars entrance fee, and three dollars monthly, for evening

¹ Herald of Freedom, January 8, 1790, p. 1/1-3. The charge of being a Jesuit, which he hurled against de Rousselet, was probably only rhetorical effervescence. The fact that his name does not appear in the Rev. Thomas Hughes's very comprehensive list of Jesuits and ex-Jesuits in America (History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Text, ii. 678-704) would seem to be sufficient evidence that he was not one. The Rev. William O'Brien was a Dominican (Shea, Life of Carroll, pp. 310, 323, 429, 430). La Poterie's actual target, of course, was Father Carroll, who was a Jesuit. In the Resurrection of Laurent Ricci, he uncovered his real grievance in a recital of alleged instances of "Arts and Ambitions" of Jesuits. "In erecting the Chapels opened at New-York and Boston, by foreign Ecclesiastics, they have occasioned and been guilty of the most shocking Offences, in Order to remove them, under various Pretences, and appoint others in their Room. . . . At Boston, they have lately given a great Deal of Trouble and Uneasiness to the French secular Priest, who had sacrificed his Fortune-Means, and his whole Zeal for the august Ceremonies of that holy Religion, and when, through the Liberality of the Bostonians, his Labours were going to be crowned with Success, by the peaceful Establishment of his Chapel, they thought proper to step into his Place, by sending to supplant him, a sly and artful Subject, — the Slave of Jesuitism" (Resurrection of Laurent Ricci, pp. v-vi).

lessons from 6 to 9 o'clock. In the day time he offered private lessons at a guinea entrance fee, and a guinea monthly.¹

A week later La Poterie made his final appearance in the Boston papers, with a long article addressed "To the Impartial Public and particularly Roman Catholics" and signed "De la Poterie, French Secular Roman Catholic Priest, Missionary Apostolic in New England, Founder of the first Roman Catholic Church of the Holy Cross in this metropolis."² In the course of the article he reviewed his various experiences, and related his grievances, revealing the grounds of some of the charges against him. He charged his early supporter, Baury de Bellerive, with being the cause of many of his troubles, and with having "hindered the Abbe from paying that tribute of homage and respect; which the Abbe would have been happy to have rendered to the Honourable Consul of France."³ He paid a rather fulsome tribute to the Rev. John Thayer, the Catholic convert, who had just returned to Boston from Europe,⁴ and concluded with the statement that he took his leave of the press, unless it should become necessary to answer any attacks on himself. The next issue of the *Herald of Freedom*, January 19, contained a definitive statement from the church authorities:

Mr. Freeman, THE Catholic Congregation, in this town, requests you to inform the publick, through the channel of your paper, that not only M. Baury de Bellerive, but the whole congregation, have dismissed the Abbe de la Poterie, being fully and in every respect dissatisfied with him. By order of the congregation,

MAMAI MASSON, }
PATRICK CAMPBELL, } *Wardens.*

*Boston Jan. 17, 1790.*⁵

Hereafter La Poterie disappears from public view. He is supposed to have returned to Europe, though the exact time of his departure

¹ *Herald of Freedom*, January 8, 1790.

² *Herald of Freedom*, Friday, January 15, 1790, pp. 1/1-3, 2/1.

³ *Id.* p. 1/3. Baury de Bellerive was a prominent figure in a controversy with the French Consul over a question concerning supplies furnished to the French squadron which came to Boston in September, 1789. The *Herald of Freedom* during the month of December, 1789, contained a series of charges and counter-charges relating to the affair.

⁴ See sketch of John Thayer, pp. 211-229, below.

⁵ *Herald of Freedom*, January 19, 1790, p. 2/3.

is not known. In the statement which he published on his return to Boston in the middle of December, 1789, he had notified any of his creditors who might have been overlooked to apply to him "immediately or before the first of February next. . . . After that period he intends to return to Europe."¹ Shea wrote that "He left Boston finally January 19, 1790,"² but gives no authority for the statement. It seems probable that he drew his inference from the advertisement of the church wardens, cited above, which was published on that day.

Whatever may have been the errors and indiscretions of La Poterie, he seems, at least, fairly entitled to the credit of having laid the foundation stones on which later his distinguished successors, Matignon and Cheverus, erected a noble edifice.

¹ Massachusetts Centinel, Wednesday, December 16, 1789, p. 2/3. Under date of September 7, 1790, Bishop Carroll wrote from London to Father Plowden at Lulworth Castle that "Today likewise I had a letter from Cardinal Antonelli. . . . In the latter part he informs me of his having received a letter full of complaints and invectives against me from La Poterie; which he and the Congregation utterly disregarded, and only felt indignation against the writer." (Hughes, History of Society of Jesus, Documents, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 689.) This may indicate that La Poterie was then in Europe, though it is equally possible that his letter was written from the United States or the West Indies. B. U. Campbell (United States Catholic Magazine, viii. 103) states that "he departed for the West Indies."

² Life of Carroll, p. 315, note 4.

A bibliographical note on La Poterie's writings is appended:

- 1 To the Publick. Broadside of two columns; dated January 29, 1789; printed by S. Hall. MHS. BPL. HC.
- 2 Pastoral Letter. Pp. 24. "Given at Boston, in North-America, under our hand, and the seal of our arms, the 22nd of February, Quinquagesima Sunday, anno salutis, 1789. — Signed, La POTERIE, Vice-Prefect and Apostolick Missionary, Curate of the Holy Cross at Boston." (P. 9.) Pastoral Letter, pp. [1]–9; The Order of the publick Offices, and of the Divine Service, during the Fortnight of Easter, pp. [10]–16; An Abridged Formula of the Priest's Discourse, pp. [17]–24. MHS. BPL. BA. HC.
- 3 To the Publick. Pp. 4, n.d., probably end of February or early in March, 1789; signed "La Poterie, Vice Prefect &c." Contains "list of Credentials," pp. 3–4. MHS. BPL. HC.
- 4 The Resurrection of Laurent Ricci; or, A True and Exact History of the Jesuits. [Device] Printed in Philadelphia, 1789. [Price Half-a-Dollar]. Pp. 28. Title-page, 1 leaf; Dedication, To the New Laurent Ricci in America, 1 leaf; A well-meant CAUTION to the UNITED STATES of

II

LOUIS DE ROUSSELET

The immediate successor of the Abbé de la Poterie at the church of the Holy Cross was also a French priest, the Abbé Louis de Rousselet. As in the case of his predecessor, there is considerable variety and vagueness in the statements as to his arrival in Boston and previous history. He is said by one writer to have been here at about the close of the War of Independence.¹ He is classed with La Poterie as being an ex-chaplain of the Navy.² And references are made to his unedifying conduct, as well as to the discovery that "like his predecessor, he would bring disgrace and odium on the Church."³ It seems probable that, in general, these statements are

AMERICA, on the Danger of admitting that turbulent Body of Men called JESUITS among them, pp. [v]-vi; To all Christian Congregations of the United States of America, particularly Roman Catholics. A true and exact History of the Jesuit Refugees, residing in Maryland and Philadelphia. Pp. [7]-28. BA. This was advertised in the Providence Gazette, December 12 and 19, 1789, and in the Herald of Freedom, Boston, December 15, 18, and 22, 1789.

As La Poterie's last two communications to the Herald of Freedom are very characteristic of the man, and contain quite a full account of his experiences, they are also noted:

1 Herald of Freedom, Friday, January 8, 1790, p. 1/1-3. To the Impartial Public, p. 1/1-2; Advertisement, p. 1/2-3. MHS. BPL.

2 Herald of Freedom, Friday, January 15, 1790, pp. 1/1-3, 2/1. To the Impartial Public and particularly Roman Catholics. MHS. BPL.

¹ Very Rev. William Byrne, in Memorial History of Boston, iii. 515.

² Rev. Arthur T. Connolly, in United States Catholic Historical Magazine, ii. 265.

³ Shea, Life of Carroll, p. 389. Shea, as is shown by his citations, followed B. U. Campbell, who, in 1849, contributed to the United States Catholic Magazine a series of articles on the Early History of the Catholic Church in Boston. Campbell wrote: "The next pastor at Boston was Rev. Louis Rousselet, a Frenchman also, and by an unfortunate coincidence, also under censures of his former bishop, when he arrived in this country. This, however, was unknown to Dr. Carroll, and, as Rousselet was well recommended and spoke English, he was appointed pastor at Boston, with the expectation that he would soon be joined or succeeded by Rev. Mr. Thayer, whose return from Europe was daily expected. Some unfavorable reports as to the conduct of Mr. Rousselet induced Dr. Carroll to dismiss him in 1790, or early in 1791" (United States Catholic Magazine, viii. 103). Mr. Campbell stated that he had drawn on an article on the early history of the Boston Church which appeared in the Catholic Observer for 1847. I have not been able to locate a file of the Observer for that year.

based on a confusion of the two priests, insufficient examination of what evidence exists, and hasty conclusions. During his residence in Boston much indeed occurred which was unedifying and calculated to bring odium on the newly established church. But so far as contemporaneous evidence can be relied on, it would seem as if de Rousselet was the victim of circumstances, and not the cause of offence. There is nothing to connect him with service in the navy, though equally there is nothing inherently improbable in the statement. Visits of French fleets to the United States were not uncommon at this time. One squadron was in Boston in September, 1788, and another in September, 1789, each coming from the West Indies. From the fact that he went to the Island of Guadeloupe when he finally left Boston, it might be inferred that he came from there in the first place, but this is purely a matter of conjecture.

As to his arrival in Boston, however, it may safely be concluded that he made his appearance sometime in the month of September, 1789, and then entered upon his duties as pastor of the church of the Holy Cross. During a controversy as to his status, carried on in the local press early in 1791, the wardens of the church made public the following letter from Bishop Carroll, written when he was the official Superior of Missions in the United States and also Bishop-elect: ¹

BALTIMORE, August the 31st. 1789.

I am exceedingly pleased at your determination to proceed to Boston; I know very well you will meet with difficulties; but all first settlements have such; and I not only pray, but likewise have a great assurance, that you will live to see, not only a comfortable situation for yourself, but likewise feel a great consolation in the establishment of a flourishing congregation. May the blessings of God be with you.

JOHN CARROLL.

To the Rev. Mr. De Rousselet.²

About the middle of December, 1789, the Abbé de la Poterie returned to Boston from Canada, where he had gone not long after his removal, by Bishop-elect Carroll, from the charge of the Holy Cross. Soon after his return, there appeared in the local press the

¹ The Rev. John Carroll was elected Bishop in May, 1789. (R. H. Clarke, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States*, i. 67.) See also p. 178 note 4, above.

² *Columbian Centinel*, February 2, 1791, p. 4/2.

first notice of any public disturbance in the Catholic Church since its establishment in Boston. This took place at Christmas, but whether it was simply a consequence of the objection to Christmas services on the part of the Puritan community, a prejudice which by this time was already passing away, or whether it was due to the action of La Poterie himself, cannot be definitely determined. A charge made against de Rousselet by La Poterie in the *Herald of Freedom* for January 8, 1790, warrants the suspicion that he was probably the prime instigator. He there referred to de Rousselet as attempting "to impose upon him [La Poterie] a scandalous silence, holding in his hands the divine majesty (as audaciously did on Christmas. . .)"¹ The day after Christmas, the *Massachusetts Centinel* contained the following notice: "The indecent conduct of certain persons, in disturbing the devotions of the Roman Catholic Church, on Christmas Eve, meets the detestation and resentment of every considerate citizen — and that the perpetrators may be brought to exemplary punishment for their misconduct, is the general wish."²

In the next issue of the *Centinel* there appeared, on the part of the church, a letter of regret for the unfortunate occurrence. On account of its quaint wording and novel plan for avoiding a similar disturbance in the future, it seems worthy of reproduction in full. It was evidently written by a person to whom English was a foreign language, possibly by de Rousselet himself:

Mr. Russell, The Catholic Congregation of the town of Boston, and their own Priest, request you very much, to acquaint all the respectable Gentlemen and Ladies, who were pleased to attend their divine worship last Christmas-night, how sorry they are, for having been so unfortunate as to meet with so many troublesome people, who not only have given the greatest scandals, but have destroyed the greatest part of their pews — what is fully against that union and friendship, now in reign in all this Continent. In the same time, we desire you very much to testify, that from the very next Christmas, for the tranquility of the said Congregation, and for the satisfaction of all genteel people, who will be pleased to attend their divine worship, the night-prayers shall not begin, but at five o'clock in the morning; by that care, certainly no confusion at all will take place.³

¹ See p. 188, above.

² *Massachusetts Centinel*, Saturday, December 26, 1789, p. 3/1.

³ *Massachusetts Centinel*, Wednesday, December 30, 1789, p. 2/3.

The Rev. William Bentley of Salem attended the service on the afternoon of Christmas Day, and recorded his impressions:

On Christmass I attended the Worship & Communion of the Chapel, & heard Brother Freeman . . . & in the afternoon visited the Catholic Chapel in School Street. The Priest gave a discourse first in french, & then in english, & afterwards Christened a child. The behaviour of the crowd was rude, but there was not a disposition to countenance such behavior in the sober people, & it was principally attributed to the uncomfortable situation of the audience that any improprieties ensued.¹

In the first week in January, 1790, there appeared in Boston a disturbing element in the person of the Rev. John Thayer, a Bostonian and a Catholic convert, who had just returned from Europe to his native city, filled with proselyting zeal and energy.² On Sunday, January 10, he "for the first time celebrated Divine Service in the Roman Catholic Church in this town."³ It seems probable that for a time Thayer shared amicably with de Rousselet the duties of the church. In an advertisement in the *Centinel* of April 24: "Mr. THAYER informs the Town, That every SUNDAY at six o'clock in the evening, (to begin from to-morrow) he intends preaching a Sermon at the Catholic Chapel in School-Street."⁴ In addition, Thayer planned to extend his ministrations to Catholic families in the neighboring towns. Bentley recorded, under date of April 21, the receipt of a letter from him asking for the names of Catholics in Salem, and expressing his intention of saying Mass and preaching there, which he did early in May and again at the end of June.⁵

But certainly as early as the middle of May, and probably earlier, the relations between the two priests must have become sufficiently strained to bring about an appeal from the congregation, through the church-wardens, Masson and Campbell, to their Superior, Bishop Carroll. In reply the following letter was received addressed to the "Congregation of the Church of the Holy Cross, in Boston:"

¹ Diary, i. 133. The "uncomfortable situation" possibly was due to the destruction of the pews on the preceding evening.

² See sketch of John Thayer, pp. 211-229, below.

³ Boston Gazette, Monday, January 11, 1790, p. 3/3.

⁴ Massachusetts Centinel, Saturday, April 24, 1790, p. 3/1.

⁵ Diary, i. 161, 165, 182.

BALTIMORE, June 1st. 1790.

GENTLEMEN,

I was honoured on May the 25th, with your letter of the 16th — give me leave to refer you to the inclosed, which was going to the Post at the moment I received your last, but then suspended until today; and likewise to refer you to a Letter written this day to Messrs. Rousselet and Thayer: To pacify all, and provide a Preacher for the most numerous part of the Congregation, in the language, which they understand, I once resolved to accept Mr. Rousselet's proposals of leaving you. Your last Letter and others than [then] received, now determine me to appoint him the Pastor of the Church, if he can procure a comfortable subsistence. I wish indeed both could remain with you, but so, that *Mr. Thayer be subordinate to Mr. Rousselet*. You will see more fully my intentions by recurring to this last gentleman. I have the honour to be, with great respect, your most obedient and humble servant.

JOHN CARROL.¹

At the same time Bishop Carroll wrote Father de Rousselet as follows: "Here is the result of my reflection, and my resolution. I would have you remain in Boston, to act as the sole Pastor of that Church, for which I inclose you full powers."²

Not long after the receipt of the Bishop's letter of June 1, the church took the following action:

¹ Columbian Centinel, September 15, 1790, p. 4/1. The letter is prefaced with the heading: "Extract of a letter from the Right Reverend John Carrol, Roman Catholick Bishop of Baltimore, to the Congregation of the Church of the Holy Cross, in Boston."

² Columbian Centinel, February 2, 1791, p. 4/2. This letter is followed by a copy of the powers:

Joannes, Episcopus Baltimori, Rev: Dom. ac fratri, Ludovico de Rousselet, Sacerdoti, salutem in Domino Sempiternam. Cum Soepe institerint Catholici Bostonienses, ut unum aliquem sibi Pastorem constituerem, te carissime frater, de cujus virtute, zelo, prudentiâ et doctrina, tam ex plurimis, quae mihi exhibuisti documentis, quàm ex vitâ tenore abundè constat, ad illud manus designo, Deum que enixè precor, ut illud et tibi et aliis Salutare fiat. Signed,

JOANNES, BALTIMORI EPISCOPUS
Baltimori, die 1 Junii, an 1790.

True copy, from the originals in our hands.

MAMEY MASSON, }
PATRICK CAMPBELL, } Wardens.

The words *soepe* and *manus* are obvious misprints for *saepe* and *munus*.

July 4th, 1790.

AT the meeting of the Roman Catholick Church, held this day, *Voted*, That the thanks of the members of this Church shall be given to our Bishop, John Carroll, for appointing the Rev. Mr. de Rousselet our Pastor, acquainting him that the members of this Church have with cheerfulness accepted his appointment. *Further Voted*, That this Church do settle from this day forward said Rev. Mr. de Rousselet, their only Pastor, Publick Teacher, Instructor and Curate of said Church of the Holy Cross in Boston. (*Signed*)

Mamey Masson,
Patrick Campbell,
(*In behalf of the Congregation.*)

Accepted,
(*Signed*) L. de Rousselet.¹

The controversy would thus seem to have been settled, once for all, by the word of authority. At this stage of the proceedings Bentley recorded on July 27 that "Mr Thayer called upon me, & mentioned his purpose to open a Mass house in this town. Mr Rousselet having an appointment from the Bishop, & having been publicly received at Boston. He sinks fast in the public esteem, & has no prospect of success."² But a man of Thayer's aggressive disposition could not rest easy under defeat, and his conversion evidently had not eradicated his inherited Puritan antipathy to all ecclesiastical authority, save his own. A few weeks later he attempted to establish his position by force as Bentley noted on August 24: "*Thayer*, the noted Convert, made forcible entry we are told, into the Catholic Church. Mr Rousselet endeavoured to dispossess him by a civil Officer, but was unsuccessful. Thayer is supported by the

¹ *Columbian Centinel*, September 15, 1790, p. 4/1.

² *Diary*, i. 188. The last sentence in this entry is somewhat ambiguous, but in all probability the pronoun "he" refers to Thayer. Bentley followed his career with interest and makes frequent references to him in his *Diary*. At this time it appears as if Thayer was prepared to accept the situation as outlined by the Bishop. In the *Columbian Centinel*, Saturday, July 10, 1790, this notice appeared: "Mr. Thayer will preach tomorrow and the following Sunday, at eleven o'clock in the morning, and at six in the evening. He will also preach at 6 o'clock on Tuesday and Thursday next. After which six discourses he will probably be absent the greatest part of the season" (p. 3/3). He may have had in mind the mission to the Penobscot Indians, which was under the nominal care of the Boston Church.

Irish, & Rousselet by the french. Thayer at length dispossessed.”¹ Whereupon Thayer executed a sort of *coup d'état* and secured a lease of the church from the owners.² On September 11 Bentley wrote:

Went to Boston, and found M^r Freeman very sick. . . . I spent the afternoon with him, & saw at his house M^r West, & M^r Rousselet. M^r R. informs me that in consequence of the proceedings mentioned p. 262,³ Thayer by his friends obtained a lease of the French Meeting House for three years, & M^r R. has removed & performs divine service in his own House. He intends to dispute the title to the House. Thayer is taken off in the Gazettes, & forsaken by his friend Campbell.⁴

Here then was a case of a priest *de jure* and a priest *de facto*, both claiming spiritual powers, and of a divided congregation. It is said that, in general, the French supported de Rousselet, and the Irish and Americans supported Thayer. The latter had the church and the former conducted services at his house in Union Street. Early in September an attempt was made to reconcile the two parties.

September 1st, 1790. At a meeting of the Congregation of the Roman Catholick Church, under the denomination of the Holy Cross, held at the house of the Rev. Mr. Rousselet, President of said meeting, *Voted*, That the Congregation having the good of their religion at heart, will, notwithstanding the ill usage which they have received of Mr. Thayer and his party, make offers of reconciliation to said Mr. Thayer and party, which offers are consistent in every point with the desires of our Bishop Jean Carrol, as appears by his Letter of the 1st day of June last.

The offer stipulated that Thayer and his party should sign over, or procure another lease of the property in favor of the church wardens, Masson and Campbell; that de Rousselet should continue to officiate as sole pastor and that Thayer should be settled, as vicar, under him. Thayer was called on to answer before 9 A.M. on September 3d, a failure to do so being understood as a refusal of the proposals.

¹ Diary, i. 192.

² Thayer is said to have “secured from the Perkins family, the owners of the old Huguenot chapel, a lease of the building.” (Connolly, *Historical Sketch of the Rev. John Thayer*, *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, ii. 266. Cf. *Memorial History of Boston*, iii. 515; and p. 219, below.) I have been unable to ascertain the owners of the property at this time.

³ I.e. p. 262 of the Ms. Diary, or p. 192 of the printed Diary.

⁴ Diary, i. 194.

In case he did not comply, the wardens were "requested to wait on Mr. Sturges," to deliver him a copy of the proposals, "and to desire him to give an order in writing, so that they may remove all our effects from the Church we lately occupied in School-Street, and for which we have lately paid or are engaged to pay." This communication was dated September 7, 1790, and stated to be a true copy from the records. It was signed by Masson and Campbell the wardens, "In behalf of 40 of the Congregation."¹

That nothing was accomplished by this attempt is shown by the public statement of the wardens under date of September 15:

As the disunion now subsisting between the Roman Catholicks in this town, might appear, through the insinuations of the adverse party, in an unfavourable light to the prejudice of the followers of the Rev. Mr. *Rousselet*, they therefore think it their duty to exculpate themselves of the impressions, that the removal of the furniture of the Church, might give against them, by informing the publick of the following facts. 1stly, That the Wardens of said Church are the followers of the Rev. Mr. *Rousselet*, and that they are the sole responsors for the payment of these articles, and therefore they look on them as their property. 2dly. That the followers of the Rev. Mr. *Rousselet* are not induced so to do by spirit of party nor by ill-founded malice against Mr. *Thayer*, but as they are really Catholicks they are obliged to follow *the good Pastor* appointed by their Bishop, agreeably to the rights of their Church. 3dly. That if the disunion has taken place, it is not for the want of proposals made by the followers of the Rev. Mr. *Rousselet* to Mr. *Thayer* and party. And the Subscribers are in hopes that by printing the following Papers, the publick will be convinced of the truth of their assertion.

(Signed) Mamey Masson,
Patrick Campbell.²

The papers referred to in the third section were the letter of the Bishop of June 1, and the actions of the Congregation on July 4 and September 1, 1790, already cited above.

In the Centinel of September 18 Thayer replied to the wardens that he could refute the statements to his disadvantage, and that he stood ready to do so in private, but that he would "never engage in

¹ Columbian Centinel, September 15, 1790, p. 4/1-2.

² Columbian Centinel, September 15, 1790, p. 4/1.

a paper war." He added that he would take no further notice of what was said against him.¹ The two wardens returned to the fray in the Centinel of October 2. Referring to Thayer's statement of the 18th September, they called on him to come out publicly and refute them. As a parting shot they asserted that if he neglected to do so, the public would have the right to believe that he meant to impose on them.² Here the matter rested for a time. Thayer had the advantage of controlling the church property. The Bishop was in England for the purpose of his consecration, thus leaving no authority to be appealed to by the dispossessed party.³

This condition of affairs gave rise, some two months later, to a curious and interesting incident, which showed on the one hand the intensity of feeling on the part of the French Catholics, and on the other the catholicity and truly Christian attitude of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Parker, and his associates, of Trinity Church. Toward the end of May, 1790, there had arrived in Boston the Treasurer of the Island of Guadeloupe, M. Breckvelt de Larive, who, with his family, had come to the United States on account of ill health.⁴ M. de Larive took up his residence in Dedham, where he died on November 4th.⁵ Father de Rousselet at that time was absent on a visit to the Mission among the Penobscot Indians, but was expected to be back in Boston

¹ Columbian Centinel, September 18, 1790, p. 3/3. In view of Thayer's controversial propensities in press, pulpit, and private life, his statement may fairly be called disingenuous. Bentley, who evidently followed the controversy with interest, noted on Monday, September 20, that "The matter of the *Catholic Church* in Boston is debated in the Boston Papers. Thayer appeared in the Centinel of last Saturday, bids defiance to his enemies, refuses to give any satisfaction in the Gazette" (Diary, i. 196).

² Columbian Centinel, October 2, 1790, p. 4/1.

³ Thayer, however, did present his side of the case to the Bishop in two letters written in September and October, 1790, which are preserved in the Baltimore Archives. Whether they were received by the Bishop while in England, or only on his return to Baltimore, cannot be stated. (See p. 219 note 5, below.)

⁴ "Arrived . . . In the Brig Hope, from Guadeloupe, the Treasurer of that Island, his Lady, and family came passengers" (Massachusetts Centinel, Saturday, May 29, 1790, p. 3/1).

⁵ "Died, on the 4th Instant, at Dedham. Mr. Breckvelt de Larive (a French Gentleman) late Treasurer of the Island of Guadeloupe, and its Dependencies; who came (with his Family) into this Country, for the Benefit of his Health" (Boston Gazette, November 8, 1790, p. 3/2). Also noted in the Columbian Centinel, November 10, and Independent Chronicle, November 11.

about the middle of November.¹ Evidently the family and friends of the late M. de Larive were unwilling to avail themselves of the services of Father Thayer, and an appeal must have been made to the Rev. Dr. Parker for assistance. On Monday, November 8, the public was notified that —

His Funeral is to proceed this Afternoon at half past Three o'clock, from the house of M. John Jutau, near Fort-Hill, and opposite the French Consul's. It is wished that the Gentlemen of the town would please to join the Procession, to testify their regard for so respectable a subject of our great and generous Ally.²

On the following Wednesday the Centinel noted the death of M. Larive, and added that "On Monday his remains were attended to the tomb, in this town, by a very respectable number of citizens; and the funeral service was performed over him by the Rev. Mr. Parker, in Trinity Church, under which he was buried."³ Two weeks later the Centinel published a notice that "The Rev. Mr. DE ROUSSELET, Pastor of the Catholick Congregation in this town, has arrived from his visit to the Penobscot tribe, he will officiate tomorrow and Sunday following, at his House in Union-Street, and will open his Day and Evening School for French and Spanish Languages, on Monday next, the 29th inst."⁴

The issue of December 1 contained the following advertisement:

AT the request of Mrs. Breckvelt de Larive, the Rev. Mr. DE ROUSSELET, Pastor of the Roman Catholick Church in Boston, will perform a divine service in memory of the late Mr. Breckvelt de Larive, late Treasurer-General of the Island of Guadaloupe, and dependencies. The service will be performed, with all the ceremonies requisite on the oc-

¹ "The Rev. Mr. LEWIS DE ROUSSELET, Pastor of the Roman Catholick Congregation, in this town, will sail to-morrow, on a visit to the Penobscot tribe; he hopes to be back in a few weeks, and will be very happy to gratify the great desire many gentlemen, his friends, have to learn the French and Spanish Languages, to open his Day and Evening School, the 15th of November next, in his House, Union-street, No. 23. N.B. Prayers will be read every Sunday, at said House, where any who are well-disposed may attend" (Columbian Centinel, October 20, 1790, p. 3/2).

² Boston Gazette, November 8, 1790, p. 3/2.

³ November 10, 1790, p. 2/4.

⁴ November 24, 1790, p. 3/2.

casion, and will begin Tomorrow at 11 o'clock A.M. at the Church of the Rev. Doctor Parker, where all the friends and acquaintances of the deceased are requested to attend.

Mamey Masson, } Wardens
Patrick Campbell, } C. church

Boston, Dec. 1¹

On the preceding day, November 30, a meeting of the vestry of Trinity Church had been held, which was attended by the Rev. Dr. Parker, his church wardens, and nine vestrymen, when:

An Application was made by Rev^d Mons^r L de Rousselet Minister of the Catholic Church thro' the Rev^d D^r Parker for the use of Trinity Church to read the Prayers of the Catholic church over the body of Mons^r de larive Treasurer general of the Island of Gaudeloupe & its dependencies &c who had been entombed under said church. . . . Voted unanimously that Rev^d Mons^r L de Rousselet have liberty to perform the funeral Services according to the Rites of the Catholic Church in Trinity Church on Thursday next, or at any other time he shall see convenient.²

At a meeting of the vestry on the following Sunday, December 5: "A Letter of Thanks from Rev^d M^r L de Rousselet for the Use of said Church on Thursday last was communicated by Rev^d D^r Parker & read."³

It is not surprising that this incident caused unfavorable comments in a community which failed to realize that the Catholic priest and the Episcopal rector, aside from some matters of dogma and practice, were spiritually more akin than were Dr. Parker and many of the latitudinarian Boston divines. The *Columbian Centinel* of December 4 contained an editorial notice stating that "It would ill comport with that spirit of toleration, which is our country's boast, were we to insert the piece, intitled, 'The Roman-Catholick done over — or the once Trinity House of God turned into a Puppet-shew room.' If even 'a little innocent satire on the subject' would be savoury, particles of the above, are too saline for insertion."⁴ The Rev. Jeremy Belknap, under date of December 7, furnished his correspondent, Ebenezer Hazard, with a full and rather virulent account of the whole proceeding:

¹ *Columbian Centinel*, Wednesday, December 1, 1790, p. 3/2.

² Trinity Church Records. Ms. copy in Trinity Church.

³ *Id.*

⁴ P. 3/2.

We have had an exhibition in this town, of a singular nature. A Monsieur L'Arive, from Guadaloupe, died here about a month ago. At the time of his death, M^r Rousselet, the French priest, was absent on a visit to the Indians of Pennobscot, and the French here do not approve of Abbé Thayer, so they got Dr. Parker to read the *Protestant Church* service at his funeral. When Rousselet came home, he persuaded the widow to let him perform a *requiem*, after the Roman model. For this purpose, they obtained leave of Dr. P. and his vestry to use his church. Accordingly, last Thursday, Trinity Church was decorated with the insignia of popish *idolatry*, in the chancel, directly under the 2d commandment; and, after the Mass was said, a sermon followed, the whole composing as complete a farce as can well be conceived. The more they expose their religion to public shew, the more its absurdities appear; and it is become an object of ridicule even to our children. You know how much stress they lay on the argument from *the unity* of their church. Their conduct here is a most brilliant comment on this argument, for the French and Irish papists cannot meet in the same place without quarreling. Once the peace officers were called in to prevent them from coming to blows. Such is the unity of the Catholic Church in Boston.¹

Toward the end of January, 1791, the controversy between the two factions of Catholics came to the surface again in the local press. On December 7, 1790, Bishop Carroll had arrived at Baltimore, on his return from England.² It is not unlikely that the unfortunate condition which existed in the Boston church was promptly brought to his attention, although no direct evidence of an appeal to him at this time is available. It is possible also that the quasi-public recognition which had been given de Rousselet, by the authorities of Trinity Church, had stimulated Thayer to renew the assault. At all events, taking as a pretext the work of de Rousselet among the Penobscot Indians, Thayer inserted the following notice in the *Columbian Centinel* of January 26, 1791:

WHEREAS a Priest, by name Mr. LOUIS ROUSSELET, who styles himself *Pastor of the Catholick Congregation of Boston*, is carrying about a sub-

¹ Belknap Papers, ii. 240, 241. Dr. Belknap evidently utilized one shot for two targets.

² *Herald of Freedom*, December 28, 1790. On the 7th inst. the ship *Sampson*; Captain Moore, arrived at Baltimore from London. In her came "the Right Rev. Doctor John Carrol, lately consecrated Bishop of the Catholic See in America" (p. 3/1).

scription for the education of two Indians; this is to give notice, that the said Mr. ROUSSELET falsely assumes that title in direct defiance to his and my lawful superiour, who has repeatedly ordered him to relinquish the office of Pastor to me. To gain belief to his pretension among gentlemen, he produces a letter from our Bishop, as old as the month of April or May, artfully concealing all those of a later date, by which he is condemned. If after this, Mr. R. has the effrontery to call himself *Pastor of the Catholick Church*, I shall publish some extracts from our superiour's letters to convict him of falsehood. It is of no consequence to the publick who is Pastor of the Catholick Church; yet it is important that money should not be extorted from the humane under a borrowed title. — The Indians and all other Catholicks in this Commonwealth, are under my immediate jurisdiction; nor has Mr. R. or any other Priest a right, without my permission, to concern himself in their affairs. I stand ready, if government will recommend me to the tribes, to visit them and render them all the service in my power, without fee or reward — it is obvious to remark, that it is more agreeable to sound policy to entrust this charge in the hands of an American, who can have no interest separate from that of his country, than to a foreigner who obtrudes on the publick a title to which he has no right, and who, by the change of national interest, may one day become an enemy.

JOHN THAYER

*Catholick Missionary of Boston.*¹

The two church wardens again came promptly to the defence of de Rousselet. It is noticeable that in the various controversies de Rousselet himself never took an active, or at least an open part, and in striking contrast to his predecessor, La Poterie, he avoided any personal controversial attitude. Masson and Campbell replied to Thayer, in the Centinel of February 2, with the following statement:

WHEREAS, Mr. JOHN THAYER has the impudence to dispute the rights of the Rev. Mr. de ROUSSELET, in stiling himself *Pastor* of the Catholick Church, and lest some of the good people of this country might be led to listen to that imposition and falsehood, which not only reflects on the character of the Rev. Mr. de ROUSSELET, but also on that of his followers, by imputing to them a deviation from the excellent rules of the Church: Which are, not to follow any Priest but he who is duly and regularly appointed by their superiour, the Bishop of their district, Therefore we, the Wardens of the only instituted Catholick Church in

¹ P. 1/3-4.

Boston, do certify, that by our Church-Books and other Titles, which are in our possession, the copy of which we beg leave to present to the publick, the Rev. Mr. ROUSSELET, is the sole *Pastor* of that Catholick Church in Boston, That they who follow any other Preist, in that faith in said Boston, are guilty of Schism, and by the ordinances of our Church, the Priest who keeps them in that ignorance, and insists upon being followed by them, is guilty of a breach of fidelity to his superiours in the Church, and of the obligation entered into at the time of his ordination to the holy ministry of that Church, and therefore lies under pain of ex-communication.

Mamey Masson, }
Patrick Campbell, } Wardens.¹

This communication was accompanied by copies of the letters of Bishop Carroll of August 31, 1789, and June 1, 1790, which have already been quoted.²

The next issue of the Centinel, February 5, contained Thayer's reply:

The piece signed MAMEY MASSON and PATRICK CAMPBELL, only tends to prove what I asserted, viz, 'That Mr. ROUSSELET produces an old letter, artfully concealing those of a later date, by which he is condemned' — I have not said what Mr. R. was last June; but I have said that he *now* falsely assumes the title of Pastor of the Catholick Church of Boston — However I have nothing to do with Messrs. MASSON and CAMPBELL. I now repeat, that when Mr. R. shall have the effrontery to style himself again, *Pastor of the Catholick Church, of Boston*, I will publish some extracts from our Superiour's letters to convict him of falsehood.

John Thayer

Feb. 2.

*Missionary of Boston.*³

Thayer's reply does not seem particularly conclusive. After basing his charges, January 26, on a letter "as old as the month of April or May," he was confronted with the Bishop's letter of June 1, 1790, accompanied by a copy of the powers conferred. He then removed his position, February 2, to the single standpoint of "some extracts from our Superiour's letters." In view of Thayer's controversial and generally belligerent attitude, it is hard to believe that he would have refrained from demolishing his adversaries by means of the extracts from the Bishop's letters, to which he had twice referred, if he really

¹ P. 4/2.

² Pp. 192, 195, above.

³ P. 4/1.

could have produced convincing evidence. Whether this deduction is warranted or not, at all events the newspaper controversy came to an end here.¹ Thayer's final move appears to have been a personal visit to Bishop Carroll.² That the motive of his visit was well understood in the town may be inferred from a paragraph in the Centinel of May 25: "The Rev. Mr. Thayer, has arrived in town, from his 'mission of love' at the Southward."³

It is obvious that the existing conditions could only make for dissensions among the small body of Catholics in Boston, and that they would work incalculable harm to the growth and development of the Church. Bishop Carroll, therefore, paid a visit to Boston for the purpose of examining into the situation and adjusting the matter. He arrived in the town toward the end of May, 1791, and on Thursday morning, June 2, "confirmed upwards of thirty persons, at the Roman Chapel in this town. We hear he will deliver a Sermon on Sunday morning, which, doubtless, must awaken the attention of the enlightened Protestants of this Country."⁴ The following notice of his sermon on Sunday, appeared in the Herald of Freedom of June 7:

ON Sunday morning, the *Right Rev.* BISHOP CARROLL, preached an elegant and candid sermon at the *Catholic Chapel*, in School-Street. His Excellency the GOVERNOR⁵ and LADY, the Hon. THOMAS RUSSELL and LADY, the Hon. EDWARD CUTTS and JEREMIAH ALLEN, Esq. were among a crowded and very respectable audience; who appeared highly gratified by the charity, the benevolence, the piety which appeared to have subverted in the mind of the Right Rev. Preacher, superstition and priestcraft, too generally found among the less instructed *Missionaries* of the *Romish Church* (p. 3/1).

¹ The Boston Gazette of February 28, 1791, contained the following entry from the proceedings of the Massachusetts House of Representatives under date of February 21: "A petition from a number of French, Irish and American Catholics, praying for the use of the Representatives Chamber in the recess of the Court, they being destitute of a place of worship. Read and committed to Mr. Breck, Mr. Gardiner and Mr. Bacon" (p. 2/2). Unfortunately the original of this petition is not to be found among the State Archives, and it cannot be ascertained whether it was presented by the followers of de Rousselet, or not.

² "THE Rev. JOHN THAYER, of this town, is arrived in *Philadelphia*. It is supposed he there intends to follow the trade of CONVERT-MAKING" (Herald of Freedom, May 13, 1791, p. 3/1).

³ P. 3/1.

⁴ Herald of Freedom, Friday, June 3, 1791, p. 3/3. Cf. Columbian Centinel, Saturday, June 4, 1791, p. 3/1.

⁵ John Hancock.

The Bishop was received in the most friendly manner in the community, and was the recipient of many attentions.¹

On the occasion of the annual election of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company Monday, June 6, the Rev. Dr. Parker preached the sermon at the Old Brick Meeting-house. After the service the Company escorted the procession to Faneuil Hall, including "The Right Rev. Bishop Carrol, and Rev. Dr. Parker." At the dinner which followed "The blessing was craved by the Rev. Dr. Parker, and thanks returned by Bishop Carrol."² This occasioned the Rev. John Eliot to comment in his interleaved almanac: "June 6. An elegant entertainment at the hall, where a clergyman of the C. of England & a Romish Bp. acted as Chaplains. How would our fathers have Stared! Tempora mutantur &c. And much to the credit of modern times. [June] 8. I dined with Bp. Carroll at D^r. Parkers."³ Jeremy Belknap wrote Hazard on June 11: "Bishop Carrol is here yet, and I assure you is treated with the greatest attention and respect by most of our distinguished characters; but the cause which he means to serve is not the foundation of this respect: it is wholly owing to his personal character."⁴

What course Bishop Carroll pursued in bringing about an adjustment of the Church's affairs cannot be determined from contemporaneous sources. His biographer, John G. Shea, states that "He succeeded in uniting the two parties, who accepted Rev. Mr. Thayer;

¹ Bentley recorded May 27, that he "Was introduced by M^r Clarke to D^r Carroll, Bp. of the Catholics in America, whom I found to be an intelligent & very agreeable man." On May 29 he noted: "An invitation from M^r Barrell of Boston to dine on Tuesday next with Bp. Carroll." (Diary i. 262.)

² *Columbian Centinel*, Wednesday, June 8, 1791, p. 3/2. Cf. *Herald of Freedom*, June 7, 1791, p. 3/1. Bentley noted June 8: "D^r Parker of the Episcopal Church in Boston, for the first time, an example from any person of his Communion, officiated at the Artillery Election. The people would not consent that the service should be in his own Church, but at the usual place. He read a prayer composed for the occasion, introduced with the passages of scripture used in his own Liturgy" (Diary, i. 263, 264).

³ *Isaiah Thomas's Almanac for 1791*, interleaved, in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

⁴ Belknap Papers, ii. 263. On Tuesday the 14th, Dr. Parker preached the annual sermon before the Humane Society at Trinity Church. "Among the auditory we observed; his *Excellency the GOVERNOR*, the *Right Rev. Bishop Carroll*, and many respectable and distinguished characters" (*Herald of Freedom*, June 17, 1791, p. 3/3).

provision was made for the payments of debts incurred before the separation, including some created by the Abbé de la Poterie, and a bill due for church articles forwarded apparently through the Archbishop of Paris. Regulations were adopted for renting the pews, the best one in the church being reserved for the French consul."¹ Carroll had a complicated question to deal with, which he apparently settled along the lines of least resistance. Thayer possessed a decided strategic advantage in the control of the church building. The followers of de Rousselet had shown in their correspondence in September, 1790, some desire, at least, to effect a compromise, while Thayer was unyielding. The divided condition of the little Catholic community was highly unsatisfactory, and a constant reproach to the Church. That the settlement was not wholly satisfactory to the Bishop, is revealed in the closing paragraph of a letter which he wrote from Boston, June 11, to a friend, probably his correspondent in England the Rev. Charles Plowden: "It is wonderful to tell what great civilities have been done to me in this town, where a few years ago, a popish priest was thought to be the greatest monster in the creation. . . . If all the Catholics here were united, their numbers would be about *one hundred and twenty*. It is probable there are more concealed, and who in consequence of inter-marriages, long disuse, and worldly motives, decline making an acknowledgment and profession of their faith. In these circumstances, I am very sorry not to have here a clergyman, of amiable, conciliatory manners, as well as of real ability."² That his regret was justified is shown by the statement of his biographer: "But the troubles caused by his predecessors, and his own inexperience in the management of a congregation neutralized the efforts of Rev. Mr. Thayer;"³ and also by the fact that, in August, 1792, the Bishop sent the revered and beloved Father Matignon "to take charge of the church in Boston."⁴

On June 16, 1791, Bishop Carroll left Boston and returned to Baltimore. The Herald of Freedom of Friday, June 24, referred to his departure as follows:

¹ Life of Carroll, p. 391.

² United States Catholic Magazine, viii. 149, 150.

³ Life of Carroll, pp. 391, 392.

⁴ United States Catholic Magazine, viii. 165.

This amiable Gentleman and benevolent Christian left *Boston* on Thursday week, regretted by those who had been favoured with his conversation, and possessing the esteem of the candid, the liberal, and the wise. As a preacher, his talents were admired — as a companion his society was sought — as a man, he was esteemed, revered, and honoured. . . . *Boston* would congratulate the hour of this Gentleman's return, and will remember with gratitude and pleasure, his visit to this State (p. 1/3).

The same issue which chronicled his departure, contained an article under the heading of "THE CATHOLIC CHURCH." It was unsigned, but judging from the characteristic style and internal evidence, there can be little doubt that it was contributed by Thayer himself:

PREVIOUS to the departure of the BISHOP, he established the Rev. Mr. THAYER, *sole* Pastor of the Church, to the general satisfaction of the flock. We are well grounded in asserting, that this pious and penetrating Bishop, has fully discovered the cause of all the opposition to Mr. THAYER, and those by whom the opposition was instigated. He has approved of Mr. *Thayer's* conduct as *priestly* and *canonical*, and has seen what *base passions* have moved many to asperse and calumniate his character. Would Mr. T. listen to the wishes of several Catholic Churches at the *Southward*, he might be established in a more eligible situation, in a pecuniary view. But he prefers his present *poor situation*, because, (as he the other day declared,) it affords him an opportunity of doing and suffering more in the cause of his DIVINE MASTER. . . . ¹

Father de Rousselet now apparently went to the Indian Mission for a stay of a number of months. An appeal had been made by the Indians in May, 1791, to Bishop Carroll that a priest might be sent to them, and Shea states positively that "Rousselet after leaving Boston, had gone among these Indians." ² He would seem to have been in Boston again in December, 1791, presumably only for a short stay, for in the *Boston Gazette* of December 5 —

A Correspondent observes, That having heard that the Rev. Mr. de Rousselet, Catholic Priest, had returned to Boston from his visit to the

¹ P. 1/3. Bentley recorded in his Diary June 22 that "Mr Thayer was in Town in the triumph of his appointment at Boston, & victory over his rival, Rousselet" (i. 268).

² Life of Carroll, pp. 392, 393. Cf. Military Operations in Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia compiled from Journals and Letters of Col. John Allan, pp. 314, 315.

Indians of the Penobscot Tribe, he went yesterday to the Catholic Chapel, in School-Street, expecting to be gratified with the ceremony of the Mass, as he had been formerly, but to his great surprise, after waiting a great while for the coming of the Priest, he was disappointed, which induced him to inquire the reasons of his disappointment? — and was told, — That the Church, being hired by *some* Irish Catholics, a French Priest had no right in it, unless he was expressly invited by the Irish tenants (p. 3/1).

De Rousselet remained with the Indians until the end of the summer of 1792. Colonel John Allan, the Indian agent, wrote from Boston, July 28, 1792, to Bishop Carroll stating that he had learned from Passamaquoddy that a new priest had come among the Indians there. He also said:

Before I received this I had an interview with Mr. Thayer who acquaints me there is no probability of any clergyman from France ¹ — he proposes going himself, if an Indian chief would come and give assurance (in behalf of the tribes) of such a desire — upon receiving my letter I immediately gave intelligence to him, he is still willing to go, provided I persuade the Indians to leave Rosselett this is a matter too delicate & sacred for me to interfere in & might be the means of making trouble and confusion among them . . . as the Indians have put themselves under your protection & received your acquiescence (however they may have deviated from rule & method by the insinuating address of Mr. Rossellett) I think it more . . . & expedient to do nothing more on the subject untill your pleasure is known of which I have notified Mr. Thayer.²

¹ As a matter of fact Bishop Carroll had probably by this time planned to send to the Indians a French priest, Father Francis Ciquard, who had accompanied the Rev. Dr. Matignon to this country, arriving in Baltimore in June, 1792. At about the same time that Dr. Matignon took charge of the Boston Church, Father Ciquard went to the Indian Mission. (United States Catholic Magazine, viii. 165.) It is not made clear in Col. Allan's letter whether the new priest who had come among the Passamaquoddy Indians was de Rousselet, or a priest from Canada. Probably the latter, however, for de Rousselet must have been well known to Allan. The letter serves to show that in the summer of 1792 de Rousselet was still at the Indian Mission, and also that Thayer's hostility to him and to his service in New England had neither ceased nor diminished.

² American Catholic Historical Researches, xvi. 120. In Col. Allan's Report on the Indian Tribes in 1793, he wrote that a "clergyman arrived among them in October, 1792, a man who appeared well qualify'd for the mission" (Military Operations in Eastern Maine, etc., p. 315). This was undoubtedly Father Ciquard.

By September, 1792, de Rousselet was back in Boston. He performed a marriage ceremony at Roxbury, a notice of which appeared in the *Columbian Centinel* of September 12.¹ The wedding notice was accompanied by the following note: "After the nuptials were celebrated, the French ladies and gentlemen made a collection of above two hundred dollars, which were presented to the worthy and persecuted Clergyman, who performed the ceremony . . . and who, as Catholick Missionary and Chaplain of the French families in Boston, and its vicinity, has merited by his conduct the patronage he enjoys." Father de Rousselet had evidently retained the esteem and affection of the French residents of Boston.²

In November, 1792, proposals were issued for the publication of a weekly newspaper in the French and English languages, the *Courier Politique de L'Univers*. De Rousselet was the editor, and, as the proposals stated, he had obtained some American assistance for the purpose of translation into English of the French articles. So far as the principal article in the paper was concerned, an "Account of the French Revolution," this assistance was furnished by John Quincy Adams. The publication was suspended in the middle of January, 1793, on account of de Rousselet's being called to the Island of Guadeloupe, as he announced in the *Centinel* of January 19, at the request of "a great number of its inhabitants in order to fulfill the duties of an apostolic missionary."³ His return to the island had a tragic sequel in the following year. Through the interest of Robespierre, Victor Hugues had been appointed Commissioner of Guadeloupe by the National Convention. In the spring of 1794 he commanded an expedition sent from Rochefort to the island. In the month of October he succeeded in wresting the practical control from the

¹ "Married] at Olympia, (Roxbury) by the Rev. Mr. Rousselet, M. J. J. Madey, of Martinique, to Madame de Cornet* . . ." (*Columbian Centinel*, Wednesday, September 12, 1792, p. 3/2). This marriage notice, but without the footnote, appeared also in the *Independent Chronicle* of September 13, p. 3/3.

² This incident is particularly noteworthy because by this time Dr. Matignon had virtually superseded Father Thayer at the Church of the Holy Cross. If there was any justification for the aspersions which have been cast on the Abbé de Rousselet and his character, it is highly improbable that he would have been selected to perform this marriage by good Catholics, and with the approval of the French residents, or that such action would have been sanctioned by Dr. Matignon.

³ See our Publications, xxiv. 296-299.

English, who were then temporarily in possession. After his success he brutally put to death some three hundred French Royalists who had sided with the British against the Revolutionists.¹ It is stated that fifty of the Royalists were guillotined in an hour, and that de Rousselet met his fate with them.²

In general it may be said that the Abbé de Rousselet seems to have suffered both at the hands of his chroniclers and of his clerical associate. His predecessor, La Poterie, had made his path a difficult one, and his colleague and successor, Thayer, had increased the difficulties. Nothing is to be found among the available first-hand evidence to warrant linking him up with La Poterie as a man of similar character and past. He appears rather to have been a victim of circumstances, and of an aggressive opposition on the part of Thayer, who left no stone unturned until he finally succeeded in ousting his associate.

III

JOHN THAYER

John Thayer, the fourth son of Cornelius and Sarah (Plaisted) Thayer, was born in Boston May 15, 1758.³ With regard to his early youth and education he said of himself: "At first I had refused to study, but at the age of sixteen, by reflection, and a certain desire of improvement, I entreated my parents to put me to school. By dint of application, I repaired lost time, and by the help of a good teacher,

¹ T. Coke, *History of the West Indies*, ii. 396, 400; B. Edwards, *History of the West Indies*, iii. 470-474; *Biographie Universelle*, xx. 131, 132.

² Shea, *Life of Carroll*, pp. 315, 316; Campbell, *United States Catholic Magazine*, viii. 103. Campbell draws a graphic picture of de Rousselet and a number of the Royalists being thrown into prison together, when he stated that he was a suspended priest, but that under the circumstances his powers were sufficient for confession and penance, but that he himself must die without the sacraments. This would give the idea of a deposed, or degraded priest, but I can find no evidence to warrant it. The fact that after the establishment of Thayer as the sole priest in Boston, de Rousselet went to the Indian Mission, presumably with the sanction of the Bishop, would seem to imply that his case was entirely different from that of La Poterie, and that there was no stain on his ecclesiastical character. If he had come under the condemnation of Dr. Carroll, or any other Bishop, it is not conceivable that Thayer would have failed to sound it abroad.

³ *Memorial of the Thayer Name*, p. 181.

made a tolerably rapid progress.”¹ Such collegiate education as he had he received at Yale, but it cannot be determined exactly how long he was there. At Commencement, September 7, 1779, he received an honorary degree of A.B.,² which would seem to imply that he had had a sufficient amount of instruction to warrant its conference. In a copy of the annual broadside catalogue for 1774, in the Library of Yale University, there is the following entry in manuscript: “1779^b [Johannes Thayer, Boston].”³ This indicates that he entered Yale with the class of 1778,⁴ did not graduate in course, but received his honorary degree in the following year.⁵ Thayer stated that “At the conclusion of my studies, I was made a

¹ *Account of Conversion, etc.*, Baltimore, 1788, pp. 3-4.

² Ezra Stiles, *Literary Diary*, ii. 369.

³ I am indebted to the Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, late University Secretary, for information regarding this broadside, which is a manuscript copy of the original. The entry cited in the text was added to the catalogue by the late Franklin B. Dexter. Thayer's name has not been found in the broadside catalogues subsequent to 1774. Bentley, who knew both Thayer and his family, spoke of him as “educated at Yale College” (*Diary*, i. 135). See also *Yale Quinquennial Catalogue*, 1910, p. 385.

⁴ Mr. Albert C. Bates, Librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society, has kindly sent me the following note from a copy of Thayer's *Account of his Conversion* which was formerly in the possession of Noah Webster (Yale 1778) the lexicographer, and is now in the Watkinson Reference Library: “John Thayer was a Classmate of mine, & a charity scholar, with some genius, but an impudent lying, obstinate temper — N. Webster.”

⁵ A rather scurrilous review of Thayer's *Account of his Conversion* in the *American Magazine* for September, 1788 (pp. 738, 739), contains the statement that Thayer went to New Haven recommended to the President and tutors who examined and admitted him to the College. Some gentlemen of the town boarded him and the College gave free tuition. He subsisted on charity until the last year of the usual term of residence, when he was guilty of some disorderly conduct and dismissed in disgrace. He pretended to have been honored with a B.A. degree.

This story appears to be purely imaginative. Thayer refers to his family as being in easy circumstances (*Account of Conversion*, p. 3), and it is highly improbable that he would have received an honorary degree in 1779 if he had been dismissed in disgrace in the previous academic year. President Stiles makes no allusion to any such circumstance, although he referred to him in very unflattering terms after his conversion: “[April] 11. [1791]. In the Even^g visited by Mr. Thayer the Romish Priest; born at Boston a Protestant, commenced his Life in Impudence, Ingratitude, Lying & Hypocrisy, irregularly took up preach^g among the Congregationalists, went to France & Italy, became a Proselyte to the Romish Church, & is returned to convert America to that Chh. . . . Of haughty insolent & insidious Talents” (*Literary Diary*, iii. 416).

Minister of the Puritan sect, and exercised my functions for two years, applying myself to the study of Holy Scripture, and to preaching."¹ He is commonly referred to as a Congregational, Presbyterian, or Puritan minister, and as a chaplain to Governor Hancock. As to the former statement, it is probable that he received a licence to preach as a candidate, but he was never ordained as a clergyman over a Protestant church. As to the latter statement, it is known that he served for some nine months — from August, 1780, to May, 1781 — as chaplain at Castle William, enrolled in Captain-Lieutenant William Burbeck's company under command of the Governor.²

Of his movements after the close of his service at Castle William, Thayer wrote: "I embarked for Europe, and arrived in France at the end of the year 1781. I remained there ten months. . . . I was there attacked with a fit of illness. . . . After my recovery I spent three months in England. . . . I was desired to preach; I complied." From England he returned to France with the intention of going to Rome, which he soon did, proceeding from Marseilles to Rome by sea.³ Bishop Spalding wrote that while Thayer was in Paris, "He visited Franklin, and requested to be appointed his Chaplain. The philosopher-statesman made him the characteristic reply: that he could 'say his own prayers, and save his country the expense of employing a Chaplain.'"⁴ This statement is partially confirmed, at least, by a letter written by Franklin to his sister, Jane Mecom, from Passy, September 13, 1783: "Tell my Cousin Colas that the parson she recommended to me is gone to Rome, and it is reported has chang'd his Presbyterianism for the Catholic religion."⁵

¹ Account of Conversion, p. 4.

² "Thayer, John. Chaplain, Capt. Lieut. William Burbeck's co; engaged Aug. 11, 1780; discharged May 18, 1781; service 9 mos. 9 days; company raised for defence of Castle and Governor's Islands and commanded by His Excellency John Hancock. Roll sworn to at Boston" (Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War, xv. 540).

³ Account of Conversion, p. 4.

⁴ M. J. Spalding, Sketches of the early Catholic Missions in Kentucky, pp. 78, 79.

⁵ Belknap Papers, iii. 260. Letter endorsed by Jeremy Belknap: "D^r Franklin's Letter to his Sister about *John Thayer*" (iii. 261).

I am indebted to the American Philosophical Society for a copy of the follow-

While in Europe, Thayer, who was naturally of a disputatious nature, was in the habit of engaging in arguments with the design of maintaining the superiority of the Protestant belief over the Roman Catholic. After his arrival at Rome he came in frequent contact with several Jesuits, who seem to have shaken his confidence by their arguments and evidence. Finally by means of his personal knowledge of a miraculous cure of a nun, effected by the holy Benedict Labre¹ who died while Thayer was in Rome, and by reading an account of a Protestant convert to Catholicism,² he became convinced of the superiority of the Catholic faith, and publicly conformed to the Church on May 25, 1783.³ After his conversion Thayer returned to France, and, entering the College of Navarre, "was admitted by the Archbishop in an Institution for Recent Converts. Having decided to enter the ecclesiastical state he was received into the Seminary of St. Sulpice."⁴ Shea writes of Thayer: "After his three years' course

ing letter of recommendation (Franklin Papers, xxii. 37) from Mrs. Collas (a daughter of Mrs. Mecom) to Dr. Franklin:

CAMBRIDGE JUNE 6th 1781

My dear and ever Honord Uncle

The bearer of this is M^r Thayer, a young Gentleman Educated at Newhaven Collage, has been Some time a candidate for the Ministry and Chaplian at the Castle, is now going to france, has impertuned me for a letter of introduction to you, which tho I am but very little acquainted with him I could not refuse after making every reasonable apology, his views I am a Stranger to, I am happy in the oppertunity of thanking you for your kindness to M^r Collas when a prisoner and in France Mamma was well three weaks ago, the Gentleman is waiting, and I have only time to assuer you of my filial regard and that I am with respect, veneration, and love

Your ever affectionate and dutifull Neice

JANE COLLAS

[Endorsed]

His Excellency Benjaⁿ Franklin Esq^r
Paris

In the same collection (Franklin Papers, xxiii. 128) is a letter to Franklin from John Thayer himself, dated Paris, December 20, 1781.

¹ The Venerable Benoît-Joseph Labre, born 26 March, 1748, died at Rome 16 April, 1783. (Biographie Universelle, xxii. 323, 324.)

² Manifesto di un Cavaliero Christiano convertito alla Religione Catholica. (Account of Conversion, p. 12.)

³ Account of Conversion. Cf. Rev. Arthur T. Connolly, Historical Sketch of the Rev. John Thayer (United States Catholic Historical Magazine, ii. 261-273); Shea, Life of Carroll, p. 388.

⁴ Life of Carroll, p. 388. While at the Seminary Thayer paid a visit to Mrs. John Adams at Auteuil, described by her in a letter dated January 18, 1785:

[at the seminary] he was ordained by the Archbishop of Paris for the mission of the United States."¹ He evidently had, from an early period of his conversion, the desire and intention of returning to his native land, to proclaim to his countrymen the advantages of the faith whose tenets he had embraced.² This expectation was undoubtedly understood and generally sympathized with by his superiors.

The Rev. John Carroll, then Superior of the Missions in the United States and Bishop-elect, wrote under date of July 12, 1789, in referring to the Abbé de la Poterie, that "Mr. Thayer will have much to do to repair the scandals committed by this man."³ B. U. Campbell states, regarding the appointment to Boston of the Abbé de Rousselet in 1789, that Father Carroll expected "he would soon be joined or succeeded by Rev. Mr. Thayer, whose return from Europe was daily expected."⁴ His return was foreshadowed in the local press as early as September, 1788, when the Independent Chronicle published a communication from Portsmouth stating:

We are informed, from good authority, that Mr. *John Thayer*, late a protestant minister of the puritan sect, in Boston . . . is shortly expected to arrive at Boston, in the character of *Popish Bishop*. He has

"he began to question Mr. Adams if he believed the Bible, and to rail at Luther and Calvin; upon which Mr. Adams took him up pretty short, and told him that he was not going to make a father confessor of him, that his religion was a matter that he did not look upon himself accountable for to any one but his Maker, and that he did not choose to hear either Luther or Calvin treated in such a manner. Mr. Abbé took his leave after some time, without any invitation to repeat his visit" (Letters of Mrs. Abigail Adams, 1848, p. 228).

¹ Life of Carroll, p. 388. Mr. Thayer entered the Seminary October 18, 1784, and was ordained priest on Saturday, June 2, 1787. On the following day, Trinity Sunday, he celebrated his first Mass in the church of St. Sulpice. (Letter of Rev. François Charles Nagot, Director of St. Sulpice, cited in Räss, *Die Convertiten seit der Reformation*, x. 345-347.)

² Benjamin Franklin recorded in his private Journal, under date of July 1, 1784, a call from the Papal Nuncio, who informed him that the Pope, on Franklin's recommendation, had appointed the Rev. John Carroll of Baltimore Superior of the Catholic Clergy in the United States. In the course of their conversation, the Nuncio "spoke lightly of their New Bostonian convert Thayer's conversion; that he had advised him not to go to America, but settle in France. That he wanted to go to convert his countrymen; but he knew nothing yet of his new religion himself, etc." (Works, 1888, viii. 512, 513.)

³ B. U. Campbell, Account of the Early History of the Catholic Church in Boston (United States Catholic Magazine, viii. 103).

⁴ viii. 103.

been offered a handsome living as minister to a chapel in France; but he declined it, preferring (as he says) poverty, and visiting his relations and countrymen, hoping to *convince* them, *that as there is but ONE faith, and ONE baptism, so there is but ONE church*, . . . He is become very near the Pope, and all the ecclesiastics of the See of Rome.¹

The Massachusetts Centinel of January 6, 1790, announced that "The Rev. John Thayer on the 16th ult. arrived at *Baltimore*, from *Havre-de-Grace*, and, we are informed, is now in this town. This gentleman is a native of Boston, and formerly chaplain of Castle William — who embraced the Roman Catholick religion, at Rome."² Bentley recorded on Thursday, January 7, that "On Saturday last arrived at Boston the noted John Thayer formerly of Boston, educated at Yale College, sometime chaplin at the Castle, now a convert to the Catholic Roman Faith. The singularity of his conduct before his conversion has made this visit a subject of curious nature. It is supposed he has an American Mission, &c."³ On Sunday January 10, 1790, Father Thayer officiated for the first time in the Church of the Holy Cross on School Street.⁴ At that time the church was under the charge of a French priest, the Abbé Louis de Rousselet, who had arrived in Boston in the month of September, 1789, under the authorization of the Superior of Missions.⁵

Thayer had been in Boston for barely four days when he began his attempts to dislodge his associate. Under date of January 6, 1790, he addressed the following letter to Father Carroll in Baltimore:

¹ September 4, 1788, p. 3/2. The communication was dated Portsmouth, August 30. This article also appeared in the *Freemen's Journal*, Philadelphia, September 24, 1788. (*American Catholic Historical Researches*, xiii. 11.) There can be little doubt that the substance of this communication was derived from Thayer himself. The *Massachusetts Centinel* of September 10, 1788 (p. 2/3), contains a reference to the conversation of a gentleman, lately returned from Europe, with the Rev. John Thayer, who purposes to come back to this country.

² P. 3/1.

³ *Diary*, i. 135. Thayer himself stated in a letter to a friend, under date of July 17, 1790, that he arrived in Boston on January 4. (*United States Catholic Magazine*, viii. 116.) Bentley's entry would seem to establish the day of his arrival as Saturday, January 2.

⁴ "Yesterday the Rev. Mr. John Thayer, who lately arrived from Rome, via France, and is invested with Holy Orders, for the first time celebrated *Divine Service* in the Roman Catholic Church in this town" (*Boston Gazette*, January 11, p. 3/3).

⁵ See sketch of Louis de Rousselet, pp. 191-211, above.

Rev'd Sir:—I troubled you with a letter from N. York, in which I gave you my idea of the chapel in the place. Things in this town are perhaps worse. The Catholics are exceedingly few, not above fifty or sixty at most & those very poor for the most part, I am positive they must have great difficulty to maintain a single priest, much less can they maintain two of us. Besides this, La Poterie (who is actually here and in poverty) has run the church so deeply in debt that it will be a long time before it will emerge from its present situation.¹ I shou'd therefore, wish you to place Mr. Russelet in another parish as soon as possible, as he will be in some measure useless here on account of his language. Y^s seems to be his own desire, as he has express'd it to another person tho' not to me. I suppose he will soon write to you on ys head. I pray you to do this speedily as his long & tedious disposition of the exercises at chapel must be an obstruction to my zeal & to the good which I may produce in this place. The reception which I've receiv'd from the Governor, from the ministers, from my family & in fine from all classes of people is the most flattering & is an omen perhaps of good success; tho' I am prepared for & expect opposition. . . . J. THAYER.²

Sir:—I once more beg you not to put me in shakels by permitting any priest to officiate in the N. England States unless authorized by me. In this town especially one priest is sufficient at present. My reason for mentioning this so often is my fear lest religion, which is at present — an ebb, — still suffer from some intruder. I should wish for an authentic paper in Latin from you constituting me superior of the mission in N. England under you, which I might be able to show to every arriving priest. I suppose, Sir, you believe my intention so pure as not to wish this from desire of domination or superiority. I've said, Sir, Mr. Rosselet is long & tedious in disposing his chapel exercises; v.g., on a week day of obligation, when people can hardly find time for a low mass he'll say or sing two litanies, four prayers & give 1 benediction in 1 morning, & in 1 afternoon he'll have vespers, benedictions, & a spiritual reading, tho' only four or five people can attend & cannot understand one word out of four which he says. Some have told him he keeps them too long in the cold, & he answers we might never think it too long to be in God's House. . . . My address is the Rev'd Mr. Thayer, at Mr. Campbell's, Water Street, Boston. . . .³

¹ See sketch of the Abbé de la Poterie, pp. 173-190, above.¹

² The Massachusetts Historical Society possesses a photostatic copy of this letter. It is endorsed: "M^r Thayer Jan 6-1790-compl^{ns} of Rouselet, wishes him gone solicits the Supr^y of the N. E. States."

³ American Catholic Historical Researches, xxviii. 99, 100, extracted from the Baltimore Archives. The second part of this extract, following the signature

B. U. Campbell quotes a letter written by Thayer to a friend, in which he stated that after he had been in Boston about a fortnight, he was seized by an illness which kept him in bed for a month. "The danger appeared to me so serious on one occasion, that I requested the Holy Viaticum of a French clergyman with whom I am associated in the work of the Lord and of his Church."¹ After his recovery from his sickness, he appears to have arranged to preach every Sunday evening in the church in School Street,² and also to extend his ministrations to Catholic families in the adjacent towns. Bentley notes on April 21, 1790, the receipt of "A Letter from M^r Thayer a Romish Missionary requesting the names of the Catholics, a proper place for lodgings, & notifying his intentions to say mass, & preach in Salem, asking a convenient place of worship. I communicated it to the Selectmen of this part of the Town, & to such persons as would probably make it public."³ Thayer appeared in Salem in the first week in May, when Bentley received him in his own house for several days, went with him to see the members of the Catholic faith, and gave him the opportunity of saying his daily Mass. That Thayer's sense of humor was not as highly developed as his zeal is indicated by an incident which Bentley records under date of Friday,

J. Thayer, was perhaps written at a later period than the first part, but no date is given and it is cited as printed. The photostatic copy of the letter in the Massachusetts Historical Society shows that the portion of the page following the words J. Thayer, has been cut off. It is possible that the missing portion contained, as a postscript, the second part of the extract cited in the text, since the Bishop's endorsement on the letter refers to Thayer's desire for superiority in the New England States, which he had asked for in the second part of his communication.

¹ United States Catholic Magazine, viii. 116. The letter was dated July 17, 1790, and was written to the Rev. François Charles Nagot. (Räss, *Die Convertiten*, x. 357.)

² "Mr Thayer informs the Town, That every Sunday, at six o'clock in the evening, (to begin from to-morrow) he intends preaching a Sermon at the Catholic Chapel in School-Street. As by the General Constitution of these States every one has full right to worship God according to his own conscience, it is expected that no persons will attend who do not design to be serious and quiet hearers. Parents and masters are requested to prevent their children and apprentices from coming to interrupt the attention of those who wish to profit" (Massachusetts Centinel, April 24, 1790, p. 3/1).

³ Diary, i. 161. Bentley replied to Thayer on the 23d, giving the names of some half dozen Catholics in Salem, and stating that he had communicated his letter to two of the Selectmen. In regard to lodgings, he said that if Thayer should call on him, he would furnish all the information in his power. (i. 162.)

May 7: "This morning Thayer prepared to say Mass as on the preceeding morning. But as no one of his devotees appeared he called on me to take the place of Responser, which I declined. On the morning of Thursday, an Irish Stranger came & assisted him." When Thayer returned to Boston he left in Bentley's charge his clerical vestments, altar stone, altar cards, and a missal. He also left with him some four hundred books and pamphlets which he wished to have "committed to the custody of some proper person for sale."¹ Mr. Thayer arrived in Salem again on June 29, and preached in the Court House on the following day.²

In the meantime the relations had become seriously strained between the two priests in Boston and their followers, de Rousselet being supported by the French, and Thayer by the Irish and Americans. Both parties appealed to their Superior in Baltimore.³ On June 1, 1790, Father Carroll gave the French priest full powers as sole pastor of the Church, but expressed the wish that Mr. Thayer might also remain with the congregation, "but subordinated to Mr. Rousselet." This would appear to have settled the matter permanently.⁴ But after the departure of Father Carroll for England, early in the summer of 1790, for the purpose of receiving consecration as Bishop, Thayer executed a flank movement on his opponents. He obtained a lease of the church building in School Street from the owners, and ejected his colleague. After an unsuccessful attempt on the part of the French parishioners to effect a compromise, the Abbé de Rousselet was compelled to conduct services for his countrymen at his lodgings, while Thayer occupied the church.⁵

¹ Diary, i. 165-166. Among the pamphlets were "49 copies of M^r Thayer's Conversion, . . . 49 Thayer's Prayers." ² i. 182.

³ For a detailed account of the controversy and its settlement, see pp. 196-198, above.

⁴ Thayer seems at first to have been prepared to accept the situation. The *Columbian Centinel*, Saturday, July 10, 1790, contained the following notice: "Mr. Thayer will preach tomorrow and the following Sunday, at eleven o'clock in the morning, and at six in the evening. He will also preach at 6 o'clock Tuesday and Thursday next. After which six discourses he will probably be absent the greatest part of the season" (p. 3/3). Bentley recorded on July 27, that "M^r Thayer called upon me, & mentioned his purpose to open a Mass house in this Town. M^r Rousselet having an appointment from the Bishop, & having been publicly received at Boston" (Diary, i. 188).

⁵ Vol. xxviii of the *American Catholic Historical Researches* contains two letters from Father Thayer to Bishop Carroll (extracted from the Baltimore

This unedifying state of affairs naturally militated seriously against the development and prosperity of the struggling church. Not long after the return from Europe of Bishop Carroll in December, 1790, the controversy was reopened in the local press, and eventually it necessitated a visit of the Bishop to Boston toward the end of May, 1791. He seems to have made the best settlement he could under the circumstances and established Thayer as the sole priest, while de Rousselet went, for a time, to the mission among the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Indians. That the settlement was not entirely to the Bishop's satisfaction is indicated by his statement, in a letter to his correspondent the Rev. Charles Plowden, that under the existing circumstances of the Church in Boston he was "very sorry not to have here a clergyman, of amiable, conciliatory manners, as well as of real ability."¹ It is also significant that, with an eye to the future as well as to the present, Bishop Carroll evidently exacted a statement of submission from the Rev. Mr. Thayer:

The subscriber having been charged with saying that he would not obey the Bishop but place himself under the jurisdiction of the Pope in case he should be ordered by the Bishop to leave Boston, hereby declares that he does acknowledge and will submit to the authority of the Bishop in case his removal should be required by him and this shall be binding on him until a general regulation respecting the power of the Bishop in removing Clergymen be settled by common consent of the American clergy.

JNO. THAYER.²

Boston, June 13th, 1791.

Archives), written while the Bishop was abroad. The first was dated September, 1790 (pp. 305-306), the second October 14, 1790 (p. 16), both being in explanation of his position, of the steps which he had taken, and of the existing conditions. They are obviously *ex parte* statements, confused in their sequence of events, and too long to be quoted in full. His explanation of the obtaining control of the church building is as follows: "On ye next day we applied to ye owner of ye chappel they assur'd us that ye intention in letting Catholics have ye house was rather to oblige ye Irish, whom as a nation they esteemed they knowing them to be more numerous by ye lists produced by both parties & more respectable in point of character, they sign'd & delivered me a lease of ye same; & as they could not get ye keys from Mason [i.e. Masson, the church warden], they forc'd ye door, put on a new lock & gave me ye key; thus I became proprietor, with two others, of ye house" (pp. 305-306).

¹ United States Catholic Magazine, viii. 150. The letter was written from Boston, June 11, 1791. See p. 207, above.

² American Catholic Historical Researches, ix. 42 (extracted from the Baltimore Archives).

In the previous year, November 24, 1790, the following advertisement appeared in the *Centinel*:

Mr. THAYER, Catholick Priest, of Boston, fully persuaded that he has found the inestimable treasure of the Gospel, is greatly desirous of imparting it to his dear countrymen. For this purpose, he offers himself to preach on the evenings of the week-days, in any of the neighbouring towns. If any persons desire to hear the exposition of the Catholick Faith (of which the majority of Americans have so mistaken an idea) and will furnish any place for the accomodation of the hearers, Mr. THAYER will be ever ready to attend them. He will also undertake to answer the objections any gentleman would wish to make either publicly or privately to the doctrine he preaches; and promises that if any one can convince him that he is man [in?] error he will make as publick and solemn a recantation of his present belief, as he has done of the Protestant religion in which he was educated — Freely he has received — freely he gives. N.B. He may be seen every morning at half past nine, at his Church, in School-street, or at other hours may be found at his lodgings, No. 82, Newbury-street (p. 3/2).

A response to Mr. Thayer's offer to answer any objections to his doctrines appeared in the *Essex Journal*, Newburyport, on December 22nd: "Newbury-port Dec. 1, 1790. As the gauntlet has been thrown by Mr. JOHN THAYER, in favour of the Church of Rome, the challenge is accepted, by GEORGE LESLIE, Pastor of the Church, in Washington, state of New Hampshire."¹ Mr. Thayer published a reply in the *Centinel* of January 26, 1791, inviting Mr. Lesslie, "or any other Minister to appoint me a time and place in Boston, or any of the neighbouring towns, for the combat proposed; . . . Perhaps Mr. LESLIE's desire is to dispute in the publick papers — If this be the design of his challenge, I will begin as soon as any Printer will consent to give our controversies a place."² "In consequence," wrote Thayer, "a printer sent me a polite note by which he offered me a place in his *Gazette*. I accepted his invitation, and soon sent him my first paper."³ A correspondent in the *Centinel* of

¹ *Columbian Centinel*, January 19, 1791, p. 3/1.

² P. 1/3.

³ Controversy between the Rev. John Thayer, Catholic Missionary, of Boston, and the Rev. George Lesslie, p. iv: see p. 229 note 3, below. Bentley noted on February 4, 1791, that "M^r Thayer the Catholic Missionary, has bid open

February 9, 1791, stated that "THE publick may now felicitate themselves on the prospect of the ecclesiastical controversy between Mr. JOHN THAYER, and his reverend opponent Mr. Leslie, as the Editor of the *Essex Journal*, published at *Newbury Port*, has informed both the gentlemen, that he is ready to publish their disputations *gratis*, and Mr. THAYER has promised in his challenge that he will begin as soon as any Printer will give the controversy a place."¹

Mr. Thayer, under a number of heads, stated simply and clearly the principles of the Catholic faith. Mr. Lesslie, for whatever reason, delayed his reply for some months, thereby subjecting himself to some rather caustic criticisms.² The Centinel on June 18 finally announced that "The Rev. Mr. LESLIE will begin his refutation of the Rev. Mr. THAYER's principles, in the next *Newbury-Port* paper."³ The Herald of Freedom, July 1, stated that "THE Rev. Mr. LESLIE has, after a consideration of *five months*, come forward in the *Newbury Port Paper*, and beat a row dow on the *Infallibility Drum*. This we believe was one of the stipulated *Non disputables*, which even Mr. THAYER (who feels himself strong enough to attack the whole Host of Clergy on other controverted points) does not chuse to venture on."⁴ Mr. Lesslie had virtually paid little attention to Thayer's arguments, but concentrated his efforts on an attack against the doctrine of Infallibility. Thayer replied to his opponent,

defiance to all the Clergy of every denomination to dispute with him, & advertised in the Gazette a proposed conference between him & a M^r Leslie. But his antagonist did not appear" (Diary, i. 232).

¹ P. 3/3.

² "Protestantism has not yet opposed the Apostolick Popish Divine. Champion Leslie is slow in his movements and has not yet appeared in Print" (Herald of Freedom, April 12, 1791, p. 3/1). "How happens it that JOHN THAYER, the Popish Champion, still remains unanswered. Where is the REV. MR. LESLIE hid? Does he dread the whip of INFALLIBILITY? Or does not the *Missionary* fight fair" (id. May 6, 1791, p. 2/2). After his sole appearance in print, the Argus stated September 6, 1791: "THE Rev. Mr. LESSLIE, the writer of the *Protestant Bulls*, is a *slow-worm* at composition. *Missionary Thayer* writes with much celerity, and flounders away where he likes: — Parson L—— thinks least said, soonest mended" (p. 3/2). The Argus of August 16, 1791, stated that it would reprint the Thayer-Lesslie controversy as it was desired by a majority of its patrons. It appeared, August 16, 19, 26, 30, September 6, 13, 16, 27 and 30, 1791. The issue of October 4 contained an article by Thayer on the doctrine of Purgatory.

³ P. 3/1.

⁴ P. 3/2.

but Lesslie maintained a permanent silence, — whether because he realized himself outclassed, or because he was advised to do so by others of the clergy cannot be determined. In the published account of the Controversy Thayer addressed himself to Lesslie as follows: "I have expected your reply for a full year; and, as none has appeared, I have a right to conclude that you do not find the Catholic doctrine on this point totally unscriptural and absurd." ¹

In July, 1792, Thayer carried on a controversy in the columns of the *Centinel* with John Gardiner, in which he replied to some of the latter's criticisms of the Catholic faith.² Here again he appeared to better advantage than his opponent. Gardiner's reply degenerated largely into personal abuse and ridicule of his antagonist, and of his account of his conversion. In the fall of 1793 Thayer gathered together and published in a pamphlet³ the various articles which had appeared in both controversies, together with several anonymous newspaper communications and his replies. He also included two letters of a controversial nature which he had written to the Rev. Jeremy Belknap in July, 1793, and to the Rev. John Lathrop in September, 1793.⁴ On the whole Mr. Thayer presents a much better figure in these various theological controversies than in his disputes with his colleague, de Rousselet, or in his correspondence at various times with his Superior, Bishop Carroll. Both in style of argument and in manner he showed himself superior to his principal antagonists. He devoted himself entirely to the exposition and defence of his creed and faith, and did not descend to abusive personalities.

As has already been indicated, Bishop Carroll does not appear to have been altogether satisfied with the settlement effected by him in June, 1791, in the affairs of the Boston church. He evidently con-

¹ Controversy, 1793, pp. 40, 41.

² The *Columbian Centinel*, July 7, 1792, reproduced a part of Mr. Gardiner's speech on the Theatre, which contained some slurs on the Catholic religion and on Thayer's conversion. Thayer replied in the issue of July 11. Gardiner published an assault on Thayer on July 14, in an article signed "Barebones;" and Thayer responded in the issues of July 18 and 21.

³ See p. 229 note 3, below.

⁴ Neither of the two clergymen made a public answer. Dr. Belknap replied privately that "M^r B. presents his complts. to the Rev^d M^r Thayer, & acknowledges the receipt of a letter from him which he has put into his file entitled *Consideranda*" (Belknap Papers, iii. 546 note). (Thayer-Lesslie Controversy, 1793, p. 154.)

templated removing Father Thayer when a favorable opportunity offered, or at least joining with him a desirable coadjutor.¹ Shea stated that "Though devoted and earnest, Rev. Mr. Thayer was not fitted to guide a congregation or win the general esteem."² B. U. Campbell wrote of Bishop Carroll that "Anxious for a learned, prudent, and pious priest, to unite with the Rev. Mr. Thayer in the labors of the extensive mission of New England, his solicitude was rewarded by Providence with one."³ This was the Rev. Dr. Francis A. Matignon, a revered and a highly educated French priest, who had been driven from his native land by the French Revolution and had arrived in Baltimore toward the end of June, 1792. The Bishop then decided to withdraw Mr. Thayer from the Boston church and sent Dr. Matignon to take the charge of it. "Immediately on his arrival, he communicated the wishes of Bishop Carroll to Father Thayer, and after spending a few weeks in the study of English, entered upon his public ministry on the 20th of August, 1792."⁴

So far as is known Mr. Thayer accepted with submission this disposition of affairs by the Bishop, and apparently his acknowledgment of the ecclesiastical authority, under date of June 13, 1791,⁵ now proved effective. He probably remained in Boston or its vicinity for some time, engaged in missionary work. In his newspaper articles and in his Controversy pamphlet he signed himself simply as Catholic Missionary. It is difficult, however, to trace his movements with exactness for some half dozen years. The Rev. Mr. Connolly,

¹ "Father Thorpe had warned Dr. Carroll, in his letter from Rome, of August 11, 1790, that Thayer would bear watching — 'It will be necessary to have a priest of friendly eye over Mr. John Thayer of Boston; his passion for more independence than any Apostle in God's Church ever had or desired, may involve himself and others in great difficulties'" (Rev. Peter Guilday, *Life and Times of John Carroll*, 1922, p. 424: quoted from the Baltimore Catholic Archives).

² *Life of Carroll*, p. 435. Another Catholic historian wrote that Thayer "excited displeasure by some acts of excessive zeal, and a polemical challenge which he sent to the Protestant ministers so embittered the animosity against him, that Bishop Carroll deemed it requisite to transfer him to another place" (Abbé André J. M. Hamon, *Life of the Cardinal de Cheverus*, 1839, Translated by R. M. Walsh, p. 49).

³ *United States Catholic Magazine*, viii. 165.

⁴ A. T. Connolly, in *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, iii. 132.

⁵ P. 220, above.

in his sketch of Thayer,¹ states that he visited as Missionary, Salem, Newburyport, Plymouth, Wrentham, Hanover, Braintree, Scituate, and nearly every town of importance in Massachusetts; and also that he went to Dover and Portsmouth, New Hampshire; Newport, Rhode Island; Norfolk and Portsmouth, Virginia; and that he travelled from state to state until he removed to Kentucky in 1799.² His removal to Alexandria, Virginia, seems to be foreshadowed in the final paragraph of his letter in the Centinel of July 11, 1792, referring to a possible discussion with John Gardiner: "The combat must take place during this summer, because at the close of the season, I must retire from the scene of hostilities to my more important affairs in the southern states."³ But in all probability he was not settled at Alexandria until near the close of the year 1793.⁴

Mr. Thayer wrote from there on January 24, 1794, to Bishop Carroll, stating that there was no regular place of worship, nor any prospect of having one, but that he was holding services at the house of a Colonel Fitzgerald.⁵ During the first six months of that year he had apparently asked to be relieved from duty at Alexandria, for the Bishop wrote him on July 15, 1794, as follows:

I cannot easily resolve myself to grant you a letter of *exeat*, while the Diocese is in such pressing need of Clergymen; nor can I think that the reason alleged, to wit, your difficulties concerning Negroes, is sufficient to justify either your departure from the service of the Diocese, or my allowance of it. While you confine yourself within the bounds of solid doctrine, you may act freely, & unrestrained by any ecclesiastical inter-

¹ Historical Sketch of the Rev. John Thayer (United States Catholic Historical Magazine, ii. 261-273).

² ii. 271.

³ P. 1/4. There is a curious entry in Bentley's Diary under date of October 28, 1791 (i. 318): "Thayer, *ad ecclesiam Romanam ex Protestantibus conversus, mandata ex Episcopo Carrol accepit, ad labores in Etata Meridienaux. Nos dimittimus, spe illum nunquam redire, nisi animo mitiori, et digniori.*" This statement is so at variance with the actual facts at that time that it seems probable it was only the reflection of current gossip.

⁴ He published his letter to the Rev. Dr. Lathrop in the Massachusetts Mercury of October 1, 1793 (p. 2/3). The preface to the Thayer-Lesslie Controversy pamphlet is dated October 5, and the closing paragraph, October 19, 1793. In the list of unclaimed letters in the Boston Post Office, January 21, 1794, is the name of "Thayer John Rev" (Columbian Centinel, January 29, 1794, p. 4/1).

⁵ American Catholic Historical Researches, xxvi. 82.

ference, in remedying the abuses of slavery; and when you have done your duty, if all the good effect possible and desirable does not ensue from your endeavors you must bear that, as every pastor must bear the many disorders, which will subsist in spite of his most zealous exertions. ¹

Some months later, April 10, 1795, Father Thayer wrote to Bishop Carroll: "I wish you would quicken Colonel Fitzgerald with respect to the building of the Chapel." ²

In 1796 Mr. Thayer finally realized his desire of leaving Alexandria. An application had been made to the Bishop by a number of the parishioners of St. Peter's Church, New York, to appoint Father Thayer as an assistant to the pastor of the church, the Rev. William O'Brien. The latter had made decided objections to receiving him in that capacity, and Thayer wrote from New York on June 21, 1796, to Bishop Carroll: "If therefore you send a refusal [to his transfer to New York], I beg that it be accompany'd with yr *Exeat* wh. you promis'd me, on your Episcopal word (as you were stepping into ye boat at Alexandria) if you cou'd not place me here, or at Philadelphia. I beg it may be granted as speedily as possible, as I believe I shou'd be able to obtain shortly a passage to Europe in an agreeable company & gratis." ³ Bishop Carroll replied on July 5:

I thought my last had been sufficiently explicit: for I meant to renew without any ambiguity, what was expressed in my former letters, that Mr. O'Brien had rendered services too important to the Church of N. Y. for me, to force an assistant on him who did not enjoy his confidence. . . . I have been and remain convinced of the expediency of an assistant priest, and should have been well contented if a right understanding had existed between you and Mr. O'Brien. But this not being the case, I comply reluctantly with your request and send you the enclosed *Exeat*, wishing you more satisfaction than I have been ever able to procure you. . . . Last Sunday I administered confirmation to your former congregation of Alexandria. They are laying the foundation and burning bricks for their Church. Your faculties in this diocese will cease as soon as you publicly make known your intention of leaving it.⁴

¹ xxvii. 271 (extracted from the Baltimore Archives).

² xxvi. 83.

³ xxviii. 24, 25.

⁴ xvii. 16. At the same time Bishop Carroll wrote the trustees of St. Peter's Church declining to appoint Father Thayer as an assistant on account of Father

It seems probable that Mr. Thayer returned to the New England states, after leaving Alexandria, and engaged in general missionary work there as outlined by the Rev. Mr. Connolly in his *Historical Sketch*.¹ He is known to have been in Boston in May, 1798, when he preached a sermon at the School Street Church on the occasion of a National Fast day.² The *Centinel*, May 30, stated editorially that "In point of federalism, independence, information, and true American spirit, Mr. THAYER'S Sermon on Fast day, at the Catholic Church, ranks foremost in the patriotic effusions of the day."³ In 1799 Bishop Carroll sent Father Thayer to Kentucky to assist the Rev. Stephen T. Badin, who had been appointed to the charge of the Missions in that state in 1793. Bishop Spalding stated that "Here he remained for about four years, during two of which only he was engaged in the ministry. He left Kentucky in 1803; and subsequently went to Ireland."⁴ Shea wrote a little more in detail that "The Rev. Mr. Thayer labored in Kentucky for four years, but he was unfitted for a slave State, and his life did not meet the strict views of Rev. Mr. Badin. In 1803, Bishop Carroll having withdrawn his faculties, he left the State and went to Europe."⁵

Some time after returning to Europe Mr. Thayer settled down in Limerick, Ireland, for the remainder of his life.⁶ It is probable that he did not exercise ministerial functions there,⁷ but he is said to have been "locally esteemed as a priest of edifying piety and ascetic life."⁸ He died at Limerick on February 17, 1815.⁹ He had had very much

O'Brien's objections. He also wrote to the same effect to Mr. O'Brien. (xvii. 14, 15.)

¹ P. 225, above.

² A Discourse, etc.: see p. 229 note 3, below.

³ P. 2/2. Other preachers in Boston on this occasion, whose sermons were published, were Jeremy Belknap, Jedidiah Morse, and John Thornton Kirkland.

⁴ Sketches of the early Catholic Missions in Kentucky, p. 81.

⁵ Life of Carroll, p. 457.

⁶ Shea, Life of Carroll, p. 454; United States Catholic Historical Magazine, ii. 272; Catholic Encyclopedia, xiv. 557. The Rev. T. E. Bridgett (in *A New England Convert, or The Story of the Rev. John Thayer*, London, 1897, p. 47) says that "Mr. Thayer came to Limerick about 1811," but he is unable to account for the years between 1803 and 1811.

⁷ Cf. *American Catholic Historical Researches*, xxvi. 367.

⁸ Catholic Encyclopedia, xiv. 557.

⁹ United States Catholic Magazine, viii. 151. "On Friday, the 17th February, the Rev. Mr. Thayer breathed his last, at his lodgings in Limerick, in the 57th year of his age." (Cited from *The Orthodox Journal*, London, February, 1815.)

at heart the project of establishing a convent in Boston, and is said to have collected about \$8000 for that purpose.¹ In addition he left the remainder of his private fortune to be employed to that end. "Inspired by this wish the three daughters of a merchant named James Ryan, with whom he lived in Limerick, emigrated to Boston (1819) and there founded the Ursuline Community,² whose convent, Mount Benedict, near Bunker Hill, Charlestown, was burned and sacked by an anti-Catholic mob on the night of 11 August, 1834."³

William Bentley in November, 1815, noted the death of Mr. Thayer, who, as he said, had been known to him from his youth. He summed him up in the following words: "He was a man who had little in his manners or person to recommend him, but was a real Dreadnought in adventures. He has officiated at my house. But was always thought worse of than he ever deserved. Upon the whole he was as sincere in religion as in anything."⁴ There seems little reason for doubting his sincerity, but very good reason for questioning his discretion and tact. If these had been equal to his zeal and energy he might have accomplished much in the development and growth of the Catholic Church in New England. So far as his treatment by the local Congregational divines and by his contemporaries is concerned, he fared no worse than did the clergymen who, earlier in the century, had forsaken the Congregational communion for the Anglican. Catholic writers in general treat him gently, but practically all agree that he was not fitted for his position by reason of his temperament and personal qualities. One writer stated the case quite accurately

¹ W. Byrne, in *Memorial History of Boston*, iii. 519. Mr. Byrne states that "The project of a nunnery and school was first broached by the Rev. John Thayer."

² Mr. Byrne says that the Ursuline Convent was first established in a building beside the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, on June 16, 1820, and that a school for girls was opened (*Memorial History of Boston*, iii. 519).

³ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, xiv. 557. The *Encyclopedia*, in an article on the Archdiocese of Boston (ii. 705), states in more detail that Mary and Catharine Ryan emigrated to Boston in 1817, and were sent by Bishop Cheverus to the Ursuline Convent at Three Rivers, Canada, for instruction. They made their profession October 4, 1819, and then returned to Boston.

They appear to have been joined later by a third sister, Margaret Ryan, who was received into the Convent at Boston. (B. F. De Costa, *Story of Mt. Benedict*, p. 2.)

⁴ *Diary*, iv. 363.

when he wrote: "The truth is that not a little of the uncompromising Puritan spirit clung to Thayer to the end."¹ This characteristic combined with his egotism and domineering nature negated his efforts. His conversion had changed his creed but not his character. He welcomed the authority of the Church in its application to others, but was loath to accept it when applied to himself, as is shown by his attitude toward his Superior, Bishop Carroll. There is a touch of weary resignation in the Bishop's letter, granting Thayer his exeat from Alexandria in 1796, when he wished him "more satisfaction than I have been ever able to procure you."² The fact is that Thayer remained essentially a Puritan and a protest-ant, to the end of his service in this country.³

Mr. JOHN W. FARWELL exhibited reproductions of some old views of Boston and commented upon them, speaking in substance as follows:

¹ W. A. Leahy, in *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States*, i. 21.

² P. 226, above.

³ A list of Mr. Thayer's publications is appended:

- 1 An Account of the Conversion of the Reverend Mr. John Thayer, lately a Protestant Minister at Boston in North America, Who embraced the Roman Catholic Religion at Rome, on the 25th of May, 1783; Written by Himself. . . . London: M DCC LXXXVII. Frequently reprinted: see pp. 129-140, above.
- 2 Controversy between The Rev. John Thayer, Catholic Missionary, of Boston, and The Rev. George Lesslie, Pastor of a Church in Washington, New-Hampshire. To which are added, several other pieces. [Boston, 1793.] Pp. 167. Dublin, 1809.
- 3 A Discourse, delivered, At the Roman Catholic Church in Boston, On the 9th of May, 1798, a day recommended by the President, for Humiliation and Prayer throughout the United States. By the Reverend John Thayer, Catholic Missioner. Printed at the pressing Solicitation of those who heard it. Printed by Samuel Hall, No. 53, Cornhill, Boston. 1798. Pp. 31. This sermon was advertised as "This Day published, and for sale, by S. Hall, No. 53 Cornhill" in the *Columbian Centinel*, June 6, 1798 (p. 4/2). The proceeds of sale were to be applied to "the building and ornamenting of a place of worship for the Roman Catholics of Boston." A second edition was published in the same year.

Bentley cites a pamphlet (see p. 219 note 1, above) which he designates as "Thayer's Prayers." No copy of this is known to the writer.

In spite of all that has been written on these old views, there is still something to be learned about them. The earliest mention of any map, plan, or view of Boston occurs in a letter dated July 20, 1686, in which Wait Winthrop spoke of "a map of the towne, with Charlestowne, taken by M^r Foster, the printer, from Nodles Island. Twas sent for Amsterdam, and y^r printed."¹ Dr. Samuel A. Green says that this "was probably a View of the two towns—and not what is now meant by a map—as seen from Noddles Island or East Boston, and sent to Holland to be engraved by a skilled artist."² In this opinion I agree, as the word map was not then used in the restricted sense it is to-day. In a letter dated July 15, 1686, Judge Sewall referred to "a Mapp of this Town" which he had sent his correspondent.³ No doubt this was the same map as that mentioned by Wait Winthrop, but no copy is now known.

In the New England Courant of October 8, 1722, William Price advertised "A View of the Great Town of Boston, taken from a Standing on Noddles-Island." This not receiving sufficient encouragement, it was advertised again in the Courant of November 12, 1722, but with William Burgis as undertaker. Again there was a failure to secure subscriptions, and on May 13–27, 1723, William Price advertised "A Prospect of the Great Town of Boston, taken from Nodles-Island." This appeal also failed, and on December 23–January 6, 1723–1724, we find the following: "Whereas a North East Prospect of the great Town of Boston in New-England, has been taken, which is not so much to Advantage as the South East Prospect, now to be seen at Mr. Price's, . . ." This brought results, and in the Courant of July 17–August 28, 1725, Price announced for sale "Also a new and correct Prospect of the Town of Boston, curiously engrav'd." This is, of course, the well-known Price view, of which only one copy of the original impression is known, the one now in the British Museum, and that has been brought down to 1746 by the addition of pasters to some of the buildings.⁴

¹ Winthrop Papers, iv. 421.

² John Foster (1909), p. 13.

³ Letter-Book, i. 32.

⁴ See Mr. John H. Edmonds's exhaustive paper, "The Burgis-Price View of Boston," in our Publications, xi. 245–262. Mr. Edmonds informs me that the inventory of the estate of Samuel Moale, mariner, dated September 11, 1727,



A North East View of London

1. Fish Hill. 2. South Baitery. 3. Long wharf. 4. Near South Meeting
 5. The Fountains house. 6. Bull's Street Church. 7. Old North. 8. Bacon hill. 9. Near N

Engraved for The
 from the original



Great Town of Boston

Old South, 6 The Town House, 7 the Old Meeting house, 8 Kings Chappel.
 9 New North, 10 Christ Church, 11 Cap Greenough house, 12 Mr Ruck's house, 13 N. Battery

The Essex Institute owns a unique copy of an old engraving about which we know very little, although it has been carefully studied by some of the best authorities. It is entitled "A North East View of the Great Town of Boston."¹ Sometime ago I obtained permission to have the view photographed for the purpose of careful examination, and later I had an enlargement made of the section about the Old South Meeting-house. This, though not so clear as one could wish, discloses some interesting things.

It is different from any of the other old views of Boston, and it has eighteen reference numbers, with references at the bottom of the plate.² All of these references appear among those on the Price view, but do not follow them.

One peculiarity of this plate is that the title and references are engraved upon a separate plate and afterward attached to the main plate by dovetails. In attaching the title plate to the main plate, the engraver's name, if there was one, was cut off, so that there is no clue to either designer or engraver. This makes it very difficult to form an opinion as to its date of issue, and we can only guess it by examining the plate itself.

The latest-built building shown is Christ Church, erected in 1723 and first occupied on December 29th of that year, so that the view could not have been made earlier than 1723. Some years ago the late Dr. James B. Ayer persuaded the authorities of the British Museum to have the pasters raised on their copy of the original edition of the Price view and photographs³ taken of the Old South Meeting-house before and after the pasters were raised, so that the

contains the item: "2 Maps 6 Small Pictures Town of Boston," valued at fifteen shillings: see Suffolk Probate Files, no. 5495.

¹ The size of the print, measured to the heavy border line, is 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches in width by 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height.

² These are:

No. 1 Fort Hill, 2 South Battery, 3 Long wharf, 4 New South Meeting house, 5 the Old South, 6 The Town House, 7 the old Meeting house, 8 Kings Chappel, 9 M^r Fanevils house, 10 Brattle Street Church, 11 Old North, 12 Bacon hill, 13 New North Brick, 14 New North, 15 Christ Church, 16 Cap^t Greenough house, 17 M^r Rucks house, 18 N. Battery.

³ These photographs were used as illustrations for Miss Mary F. Ayer's article on "The South Meeting-House, Boston. (1669-1729.);" in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for July, 1905, lix. 265-267. See also Miss Ayer's *Boston Common in Colonial and Provincial Days*, p. 40.

tower of the old meeting-house could be studied. The tower, thus exposed, was shown to be the tower of the old cedar meeting-house, which corresponded with that shown on the Bonner map of 1722; and, on examination, we find the same tower in this view. The last service in the old cedar meeting-house was held on March 2, 1729, and they began to tear it down the next day. Hence it is pretty clear that this view represents the town between 1723 and 1729. The only North East View of Boston, made about that time, of which we have any knowledge was that made by Burgis and advertised by Price. When last advertised, on May 27, 1723, it was stated that "unless subscriptions come in it will not be printed." With the apparent age of the Essex Institute print and the character of the engraving, I cannot avoid the conclusion that it was made from the design drawn by Burgis.

We have now to consider the well-known Carwitham view, of which there are three states of the plate. The first two were published by Carrington Bowles and the last one by Bowles & Carver, all at 69 St. Paul's Church Yard, London. The first two are entitled "A South East View of the Great Town of Boston in New England in America," and the last "A South-East View of the City of Boston in North America." This view has been much discussed, but I think it is now generally conceded to be copied from the Price view. It seems desirable to find out, if possible, when it was issued.

The three states vary but little. The first has reference numbers on prominent buildings, following those on the Price view, but no references, and the last substitutes "City" for "Great Town" of Boston. All states were engraved by Carwitham and show Hollis Street Church, built in 1731, indicating that it was probably copied from the second state of the Price view. Bryan states that Carwitham "was an English engraver who flourished about 1730, and was chiefly employed by the booksellers. His plates are sometimes executed with the graver only, but at other times are etched and finished with the graver in a style resembling that of Bernard Picart. There exists by him a plate of the 'Laocoon,' dated 1741, after the antique marble group, and some frontispieces, among which is an emblematical one, from a design of B. Picart, dated 1723." ¹

¹ Dictionary of Painters and Engravers (1903), i. 263. This is taken practically word for word from Joseph Strutt's Biographical Dictionary (1785), i. 184.

On the back of the copy of this engraving in the Boston Public Library, Justin Winsor has written: "The print is one of a large set, issued about the middle of the last [eighteenth] century; to use as slides in a magnifying box. This one which I have belongs to a set imported with such a box by Ebenezer Storer [Treasurer of Harvard College] in the last century. The number on yours (34) is the serial number I suppose in that set. Mine is number 39." We find James Buck, "at the Spectacles in Queen Street," advertising in 1750 such a "Set of Prints compleatly coloured, proper for viewing in *Camera Obscura*."¹ My own copy is numbered 34 and my London correspondent wrote to me: "We had to buy some thirty colored views of the same period, all of them being European except this one, and many of them had their printed inscriptions cut off and pasted on the backs, and some of them had been taken off again and replaced at the bottom." The Bostonian Society owns a copy of this print which belonged to Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, who said it was one of the set brought in by Ebenezer Storer. This copy has the title pasted on; sometime ago this was lifted off, but nothing was found under it.

I learn from London that Carrington Bowles was in business between 1765 and 1793 at 69 St. Paul's Church Yard, and that Bowles & Carver were at the same place from 1793 on. From this it would seem that the earliest examples of this plate could not be earlier than 1765, and that the last state could not be earlier than 1793. It is quite probable that there was an earlier edition of this view, but if so no copy is now known.]

A map by H. Moll dated 1720 has the imprint: "Sold by Tho. Bowles next ye Chapter House in St. Paul's Church Yard. — John

Carwitham is known to Strutt, Bryan, etc., as "J. Carwitham." On the prints the name appears as "I. Carwitham." Doubtless he was the John Carwitham who published at London "Various kinds of Floor Decorations represented both in plane and perspective. Being . . . designs for ornamenting the floors of halls, rooms, summer houses, etc.," assigned in the British Museum Catalogue to the year 1739.

¹ Boston News Letter, May 24, 1750. For this reference, I am indebted to Mr. George F. Dow. Cf. Memorial History of Boston, ii. 532; 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xviii. 68-69. Mr. Dow calls my attention to a long advertisement in the Boston Gazette of April 14, 1740, of a machine "lately arrived from Holland by which is presented to the sight a Prospect of Landskips," etc.—perhaps the same machine as that advertised by Buck, or similar to it.

Bowles at the Black Horse in Cornhill." And another old map was "Printed for I. Bowles Print & Map Seller at the Black Horse in Cornhill and T. Bowles, Print and Map Seller next to the Chapter House in St. Paul's Church Yard and over against Devereaux Court, without Temple Bar." From either of these, Carrington Bowles may have received the plate.¹

¹ From H. R. Plomer's *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, etc.*, from 1668 to 1725 (London, 1922, p. 43), it appears that John Bowles, printseller in London, was at the "Black Horse, Cornhill; and [in the Strand] over against Devereux Court, without Temple Bar," as early as 1709, and that Thomas Bowles, printseller in London, was at "St. Paul's Churchyard" in the same year.

MARCH MEETING, 1923

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 22 March, 1923, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The RECORDING SECRETARY stated that the Boston Safe Deposit and Trust Company, executors under the will of Horace Everett Ware, had asked the Society, a legatee under the will, to pass the following vote; whereupon, it was unanimously

Voted, That the Treasurer be and he hereby is authorized to sign a written assent on behalf of the Society to a petition to the Probate Court of Norfolk County praying for a partition of or sale of a certain parcel of vacant land situate on a way 17 feet wide in Milton, Massachusetts, of which the Society is the owner of an undivided seventy-second part under the will of Horace E. Ware late of said Milton; and said Treasurer is authorized to represent said Society in all matters pertaining to said petition to said Probate Court, and to execute, acknowledge and deliver on behalf of said Society any and all deeds and other instruments which may be necessary in the premises.

The RECORDING SECRETARY also stated that the Society was a legatee under the will of our late Treasurer, Henry Herbert Edes, to receive the greater part of his books, pamphlets, and manuscripts, his Bank Book No. 11 in the Warren Institution for Savings in Charlestown, and also the residue of the trust fund after the death of the survivor of Grace Williamson Edes, Matilda

Belches (now Matilda L. Ladd), and Ann Capen the younger. And at the request of the executor of Mr. Edes's will, who wishes to turn over title to the first portion of this bequest before tax day (April first), the following preamble and vote were unanimously passed:

Whereas, In the 6th article of the will of Henry Herbert Edes, he bequeaths to the Colonial Society of Massachusetts "my library of printed books, pamphlets and manuscripts, including the original Diaries of Peter Edes and John Leach kept in Boston Gaol in 1775, except such volumes or documents as may be otherwise bequeathed by this will, and I request the Society to allow such portion or the whole of this bequest to remain in the custody of my wife as she may elect;" therefore, it is —

Voted, That the Society hereby accepts the above bequest subject to the conditions named.

On behalf of Mr. APPLETON P. C. GRIFFIN, a Corresponding Member, a photostatic copy of a Commission was exhibited dated June 11, 1779, issued by "The Major Part of the Council of Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England," appointing Hezekiah Broad ¹ "First Major of the fifth Regiment in the County of Middlesex whereof Abner Perry ² Esquire is Colonel." It is signed by fifteen members of the Council and by John Avery, Secretary. At the bottom is this statement:

Middlesex ss. Major Hezekiah Broad appeared and took the Oath Required by Law to the faithfull Discharg of his Office and Also Voluntarily took the Oath of Fidelity and Alegiance before us

ABNER PERRY	} Field Officers
JOHN TROWBRIDGE	
JOHN GLEASON ³	

Framingham June 21st 1779

¹ Hezekiah Broad (1746–1823) was of Natick. (Natick Vital Records, pp. 21, 207; Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War, ii. 557.)

² Abner Perry (1729–1813) was of Holliston. (Holliston Vital Records, pp. 119, 340; Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors, etc., xii. 191.)

³ For John Gleason (who was of Framingham) and John Trowbridge, see Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors, etc., vi. 493, xvi. 72.

ALFRED JOHNSON spoke at length, illustrating his subject by lantern slides from photographs taken recently by himself, on "Monuments and Memorials erected on the Sites of the following early Settlements: Mount Desert (1613), the Popham colony at the mouth of the Kennebec River (1607), Plymouth (1620), Jamestown (1607), and Roanoke Island (1585)." A rapid review was given of the motives of the early voyagers and settlers, whose coming was accelerated by the defeat of the Spanish Armada, from which resulted the clearing of the seas for English adventurers; and the long, roundabout route via the West Indies and up the Gulf Stream, then in use, was traced. The physical characteristics of the early landing places were described in detail and compared; and the elements that tended to make a place suitable for permanent occupation were pointed out — such as a defensible position, a harbor large enough for their comparatively small vessels, with deep water near the shore to obviate long boat trips for disembarking their goods, springs with pure water, a stream with fish, a natural meadow with grass for cattle as well as arable land and timber, and a back country for expansion and development. It was shown why settlements in such places as those selected by the Popham, Jamestown, and Roanoke colonies were doomed, from the start, not to expand into permanent and important centres of population. In closing, Mr. Johnson stated that much credit was due, in the matter of marking sites, to the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities and to the Roanoke Historical Society.

APRIL MEETING, 1923

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. Alfred Johnson, at No. 36 Monmouth Street, Brookline, on Monday, 23 April, 1923, at eight o'clock in the evening, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported the death on the twelfth and the nineteenth of April respectively, of GEORGE LINCOLN GOODALE and JAMES MADISON MORTON, both Resident Members.

The PRESIDENT appointed the following Committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices, — MESSRS. ALLAN FORBES, GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, and JAMES PARKER PARMENTER.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts, — Messrs. MORRIS GRAY and STEPHEN WILLARD PHILLIPS.

Mr. ALFRED JOHNSON exhibited a swivel gun supposed to have belonged to the forces under Cornwallis, and described how it had recently been dredged from the York River, Virginia.

Mr. CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM described a visit to the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery at San Gabriel, California, dwelling particularly on its treasures in early English literature.

Mr. KENNETH B. MURDOCK read the following paper:

THE PURITANS AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

The most recent book on the early history of New England says:

It was natural, with the Puritans' idea of God, that they should take special delight in the Old Testament. From it, almost exclusively, they drew their texts, and it never failed to provide them with justification for their most inhuman and bloodthirsty acts. Christ did, indeed, occupy a place in their theology, but in spirit they may almost be considered as Jews and not Christians. Their God was the God of the Old Testament, their laws were the laws of the Old Testament, their guides to conduct were the characters of the Old Testament.¹

This is a specific statement of an opinion often to be found expressed in more general terms. To quote another scholar, "The Old Testament spirit of the Puritan has repeatedly been demonstrated."² Because the idea that the Puritans neglected the New Testament in favor of the Old is one which is important for any estimate of them and because it is widely accepted, it deserves some testing in the light of the facts.

One may note first that in the Cambridge Platform, the Puritans' own analysis of the religious system which governed their lives, we find both Testaments cited as equally authoritative.³ Neither alone sufficed, and neither one is preferred to the other. Yet New England Congregationalists believed that their church was based on the New Testament. Michael Wigglesworth wrote, speaking of the religious system which he upheld: "Herein the wisdom of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . (for it is not any politic or prudential contrivance of man, but modelled by the Great Lawgiver, the Lord Jesus,) is greatly to be admired by us."⁴

The Puritans relied first of all upon the Bible, but second only to the Scriptures themselves was the interpretation put upon them by

¹ J. T. Adams, *The Founding of New England* (1921), p. 80.

² D. de S. Pool, *Hebrew Learning among the Puritans of New England, Prior to 1700*, in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* (1911), xx. 81.

³ Cf. the reprint of the Cambridge Platform in W. Walker's *Creeks and Platforms of Congregationalism* (1893), p. 203. For the Savoy Declaration on the same point, see *id.* pp. 367-368.

⁴ W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* (1857), i. 143.

John Calvin. Yet when we turn to his Institutes¹ of the Christian Religion, we find that he cites and discusses passages from the Old Testament only 1802 times, whereas he makes 2864 citations of the New Testament.² Clearly he found more that was useful in the teaching of Christ and his followers than in the historical and legal books of the Hebrews.

When we turn to the Puritans themselves we cannot, of course, attempt to consider everything each one of them wrote and said. We are not likely to go far wrong, however, in calling three witnesses, each one of them a Puritan leader and each one fairly to be called typical of his brethren.

John Cotton was a great figure and a representative one in the first generation of New England. His biographer, John Norton, gives us a record of certain passages of Scripture upon which he preached, and analyzing these we find more than 2500 texts from the New Testament and but 1440 from the Old.³ Moreover, we

¹ In deference to tradition, I cite this title in its usual English form. H. O. Taylor (Thought and Expression, 1920, ii. 389 note) favors *Institute*.

² In Thomas Norton's translation of Calvin's Institutes (1611) there is an index of "the places of the *Bible*" referred to in the text. From this I have drawn my figures.

³ "First six Chapters of the Gospel of *John*; the whole book of *Ecclesiastes*, the Prophesie of *Zechariah*, and many other Scriptures . . . 1 *Cor.* 11 and 2 *Chron.* 30 *per totum*." "First and Second Epistles of *John*, the whole book of *Solomons Song*, the Parables of our Savior set forth in *Matthews* Gospel to the end of Chapter 16. compairing them with *Mark* and *Luke*." J. Norton, *Abel being Dead yet speaketh; Or, The life & Death of . . . Mr John Cotton* (London, 1658), p. 17.

This gives the following number of texts:

<i>New Testament</i>		<i>Old Testament</i>	
John	284	Eccl.	222
Cor.	34	Zech.	211
Ep. John	119	Chron.	22
	<u>437</u>	Sol. Song	117
			<u>572</u>

These figures do not include the texts from Matthew, or those from Mark and Luke with which they were compared, since the text does not give a sufficiently definite reference to make possible an accurate count. "Preached through the *Acts of the Apostles*, *Haggai*, *Zechary*, *Ezra*, the *Revelation*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Canticles*, the Second and Third Epistles of *John*, the Epistle of *Titus*, both the Epistles of *Timothy*, the Epistle to the *Romans*" (id. pp. 22-23). This gives the following number of texts:

read that, in addition to these texts, Cotton "in the course of his Ministry in *New-Boston*, by way of Exposition . . . went through the Old-Testament unto *Isa. 30*," and "the whole New-Testament once through, and the second time unto the middle of *Heb. 11*." To preach nearly twice through the New Testament before completely expounding the rest of the Bible even once, is a performance not to be expected of a man whose interest was primarily in the Old Testament.¹

Richard Mather was also a dominant influence in the first generation of New England Puritans. In his case we have a record of some passages of Scripture treated by him in his preaching, as follows:

In his publick Ministry in *England* he went over 2 *Samuel*, Chap. 24. *Psalms* 4, and *Psalms* 16. *Proverbs*, Chap. 1, *Isaiah*, Chap. 1, and Chap. 6. *Luke*, 22 and 23 Chapters. *Romans*, Chap. 8. 2 *Epist. to Timothy*; 2 *Epist. of John*; and the *Epistle of Jude*, . . . In his Publick Ministry in *Dorchester* he went over *The Book of Genesis* to Chap. 38. *Psalms* 16. *The whole Book of the Prophet Zechariah*. *Matthews Gospel*, to Chap. 15. 1 *Epist. to Thess.* Chap. 5. And the whole *Second Epistle of Peter*.²

This amounts to 1463 verses of the Old Testament and 865 of the New, but even so it cannot be said that Mather neglected the latter,

New Testament		Old Testament	
Acts	1006	Haggai	38
Rev.	404	Zech.	211
John	27	Ezra	280
Tit.	46	Canticles	117
1 Tim.	113	Eccles.	222
2 Tim.	83		868
Rom.	433		
	2112		

Adding to these totals those given above, we get the grand totals, Old Testament 1440, New Testament 2549.

¹ Id. p. 22.

We find Cotton Mather writing that John Cotton "in an expository way, . . . went over the Old Testament once, and a second time as far as the thirtieth chapter of *Isaiah*; and the whole New Testament once, and a second time as far as the eleventh chapter to the Hebrews" (*Magnalia*, bk. iii. pt. i. chap. i, § 23). I follow Norton's statement in preference to Mather's, first because it is earlier in date and, second, because the insertion of the words "and a second time" after "the Old Testament" seems so likely to have been a mechanical error by confusion of the two parts of the sentence.

² I. Mather, *The Life and Death of . . . Mr. Richard Mather*, reprinted in *Collections of the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society*, iii. 53-54, 89.

nor should we fail to note that it was the history and prophecy in the Hebrew Bible, not its laws, which interested him most.

His son, Increase Mather, "the greatest of the native Puritans,"¹ was the unquestioned leader of American Congregationalism from 1675 to 1700. In his case I have applied a test more thorough than that used in considering his father and John Cotton. An analysis of all Increase Mather's publications, through 1701, more than sixty books and prefaces, shows that he cited the Old Testament 2714 times, but referred to the New Testament no less than 3237 times.² Moreover, he wrote:

*Knowing the terrour of the Lord, I seek to perswade you by those Arguments; nevertheless, I take no pleasure to tell you thereof. But now that I am speaking to you of the pardoning grace of God, me-thinks I am in my Element.*³

On another occasion he said, "Others have objected that we find nothing in the New-Testament concerning a *Church Covenant*. And suppose it were so indeed, Is the Old Testament Apocrypha in these dayes?"⁴ Such a defence against such an objection would surely have been superfluous had the Puritans been inclined to follow the

Tabulating the texts we get:

<i>Old Testament</i>		<i>New Testament</i>	
Genesis	1120	Matthew	489
Psalms	11	Thess.	28
Zech.	211	Peter	61
Sam.	25	Luke	127
Psalms	19	Rom.	39
Prov.	33	Tim.	83
Isaiah	44	Jude	25
		Ep. John	13
	1463		865

¹ B. Wendell, Cotton Mather (1891), p. 287.

² These figures were compiled in the course of my work upon a doctoral dissertation, "The Life and Works of Increase Mather." The number of Scriptural references for each book of Mather is given in the notes to this thesis, which is now in the Harvard University Library. In view of the number of references involved, it is probable that there are some errors in my figures, but they have been verified sufficiently so that I am confident that there are no mistakes great enough to invalidate the conclusions drawn from them.

³ I. Mather, *Wo to Drunkards* (Boston, 1673), p. 33.

⁴ I. Mather, *Renewal of Covenant* (Boston, 1677), Preface.

Old Testament by preference. Moreover, Cotton Mather writes of his father:

You never saw him so much in his Element, as when the *Glories* of His *Precious CHRIST* were to be set before you. The *Preaching of CHRIST* was the Grand Thing to which he advised them who would be the *Preachers of the Gospel*.¹

Benjamin Colman, himself a Puritan, wrote of Increase Mather, "The first and last subject and object of all his sermons and prayers . . . was Jesus Christ and Him crucified. This only he desired to know among you."² And, finally, we remember Increase Mather's farewell sermon to the students at Harvard, for which he chose the text "Christ is All." He said:

Let your Sermons be as full of a CHRIST as may be . . . Have an Eye still on a CHRIST, even when you are Preaching on *other Subjects* . . . the *Misery* of Man fallen by *Sin*, is to be Preached upon. But it must be to lead the Hearers unto the CHRIST, who is the Mighty and Only SAVIOUR of *Sinners* . . . the *Life* of your Preaching will be according to what there is of a CHRIST, who is *The Life*, shining in it.³

However incomplete this investigation, it must lead us to reject any statement that the Puritans chose their texts almost exclusively from the Old Testament or were in spirit Jews rather than Christians, unless we are prepared to believe that the men they revered as leaders in the pulpit were not orthodox in their preaching. Making all allowances, the most we can believe is that early New England Congregationalists accepted the Hebrew ideal of a stern and vengeful God more literally than we do, and took more literally the commands of Moses. But we may not forget that the greatest among them found Christ a source of inspiration, and His disciples teachers no less wise than the ancient prophets. Generalizations about the Puritans are easily made and easily pass for truth, but it seems to me that, until further evidence is produced, we have facts enough to justify us in discarding the time-honored stock phrase of historians which declares our ancestors to have been more concerned with "thou shalt not" than with the Sermon on the Mount.

¹ C. Mather, *Parentator* (Boston, 1724), p. 232.

² Colman is quoted in Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, i. 158.

³ C. Mather, *Parentator*, pp. 176-177.

Mr. WILLIAM C. LANE read extracts from the old "College Customs" written out in 1735 by Richard Waldron (H. C. 1738) at the end of his copy of the College Laws in which his "Admittatur" was inscribed. These customs are concerned mainly with the duties of Freshmen in their relations with the other classes. They have been printed from one or two different sources by Quincy and by Hall.¹

Mr. Lane also took occasion to enumerate the various manuscript codes of College Laws which are known to exist, and submitted the following list:

MANUSCRIPT LAWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE

1642-1646 "Laws, Liberties and Orders." College Book I. 43-44; College Book III. 19-21. Nineteen paragraphs.

The same in Latin: "Statuta, Leges, Privilegia & Ordinationes." College Book I. 45-46.

1642-1646 Another copy of the Latin Laws. New England Historic Genealogical Society.

This copy is in the hand of President Leverett: see page 245, below.

1650 March 28 Orders relating to the duties and responsibilities of the Steward, the Butler, and the Cook. College Book I. 49-50.

1650 May 6 Orders agreed upon by the Overseers stating the conditions under which the scholars may attend public meetings, courts, elections, etc., or join in military bands; in what manner they may take tobacco; appointing yearly visitations and examinations; and requiring certificates of moral character from previous schools. College Book I. 44; College Book III. 21-23.

1655 The Lawes and Orders of Harvard Colledge . . . received, ratified and concluded upon at a meeting of the Overseers, President, and Fellows on the 30th of the 2^d Month 1655. Pp. 22, in a parchment cover. H. U. Archives.

This code is disposed in three chapters, as follows: I. About admission into the College, the manners of students, and expenses. Sixteen paragraphs. II. Concerning holy duties, scholastical exercises, and helps of learning. Eleven paragraphs. III. Concerning penal laws. Fourteen paragraphs.

¹ See pp. 249-250 below.

This copy, received by gift from Dr. Samuel A. Green in 1897, seems to have been the official copy of the College and to have been used by both President Chauncy and President Hoar. The last six pages contain additional entries down to 1672, a part of them in the hand of President Chauncy, and including the Laws or special orders noted in College Book III. 23-25, 27 (passed April, 1660, August 24, 1663, and December 5, 1667). The volume is carefully described by Dr. Green in 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, December, 1896, XI. 200-205.

1655 Another copy. Massachusetts Historical Society.

The text of this copy was printed in the Society's Proceedings, February, 1876, XIV. 207-215. It is substantially the same as in the copy last described, but is confined to the Laws as originally drawn up, with one additional penal law passed by the General Court, October 17, 1656, authorizing punishment by fine or by whipping. The two outside sheets of paper are a trifle smaller than the others and less worn, showing them to have been added later. The first pages are blank, the last contain the final paragraphs of the Laws, in a different hand from the others, and are followed by the "Admittatur" of Jonathan Mitchell of the Class of 1687, a son of the beloved minister of the same name, dated 22-8-1683 and signed by Jn^o Rogers, President, and Samuel Andrew. The same copy had doubtless served the purposes of more than one generation of Harvard students between 1655 and 1683.

1655 Another copy. New England Historic Genealogical Society.

This manuscript, filling twenty-one pages, is in two columns. In the left-hand column are written, in an unidentified hand, the Laws of 1655, with additions dated April 9, 1660, August 24, 1663, and December 5, 1667, and an order of the General Court dated September 4, 1656. In the right-hand column are written, in the hand of President Leverett, the Latin Laws of 1642-1646, an occasional reference to the Latin Laws of 1686 and 1692, and two extracts from the Corporation records about the reading of the Scriptures dated January 26 and May 27, 1708.

1660-1663 Orders (called College Laws in the margin) relating to boarding outside the College; non-payment of bills and collection of damages; also penalties for neglect of studies. College Book III. 32-25. Five paragraphs, of which the first three are of 1660, the last two of August 24, 1663.

1667 Orders for the rectifying of the Library and Rules for the Library Keeper. Sixteen paragraphs. College Book III. 25-27.

1667 Order. Students before admission to bring a certificate from the Steward. College Book III. 27.

1667 March 27 Orders relating to the accounts of the Steward, the Butler, and the Cook, and their several duties. College Book I. 63-64. The same text, divided into 23 numbered paragraphs, is repeated in College Book III. 33-36.

1686 July 23 "Regulae, Ordinationes & Statuta." Fifteen paragraphs. College Book IV. 340-339.

College Book IV was evidently begun in 1686. The old charter of the Colony had been recalled in 1684, and until the arrival of the new charter in 1692 the affairs of the College, as well as those of the Colony, were in an embarrassed condition. In 1686, from May 25 to December 20, Joseph Dudley held a commission as President of the Council for New England and the first entry in College Book IV records the meeting of the President and Council in Cambridge, July 23, 1686, when Increase Mather was appointed Rector and John Leverett and William Brattle Tutors "to enter upon the government of the College."

The Laws of 1686 were approved by the same authority on the same day and were entered a few pages further on. They are much briefer than those of the code of 1655 and, with certain exceptions, seem to be based more directly on Dunster's laws of 1640-1642.

1686 The Laws of 1686 are also to be found in a little note-book of President Leverett's which came down through the Wigglesworths into the possession of Professor C. E. Norton, whose family has lately placed it in the College Archives.

An account of this manuscript, with the text of the Laws and a detailed description of other matters contained in the book, was contributed by Charles Deane to the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, March, 1876, XIV. 222-228.

1692 In College Book IV records of meetings up to December, 1691, follow the records of July 23, 1686. In 1692 there was a change in the College government, and the book was turned about, end for end, for a new beginning: the College Charter of 1692 was entered at length, and the record of Corporation meetings follows, beginning July 26, 1692, and continuing to September 5, 1750. At this first meeting the first order was "That the Laws hitherto used for governing the House be and continue in full force till further order." This is the code which is printed in Mather's *Magnalia*, 1702, Book IV, pp. 132-134.

1692 The Laws of 1692, like those of 1686, are in Latin, but they cover twenty-three (instead of fifteen) numbered paragraphs. Nos. 1-7 are the same as the first seven paragraphs of 1686; nos. 14-18 and 23 reproduce paragraphs 9-14 of 1686. No. 8 of 1686, forbidding the use of the vernacular by the students, is omitted. Several laws from the

code of 1655 are revived in substance. Such are no. 8 enforcing modesty in apparel, no. 9 requiring the use of surnames only, nos. 10 and 11 demanding the payment of five pounds toward the College stock from each student admitted, and an annual payment of two pounds from each scholar to his Tutor (three pounds in the case of a fellow-commoner). No. 12 forbids students compelling Freshmen to go on errands, etc., by threats or blows. Gaming and card playing are forbidden by no. 13, but the enumeration of other crimes and misdemeanors set forth in 1655 (III, no. 11) is omitted. Nos. 19-21 state the conditions on which the degrees of bachelor of divinity and doctor of divinity are to be conferred, and no. 22 declares that all degrees formerly conferred shall be held as valid.

Several manuscript copies of these Laws are extant, since every student was required to provide himself with a copy.

1692 Statuta, Leges, & Privilegia . . . Data ex Aula Academiae Harvardini [*sic*] Die Vicesimo Secundo Novembris Anno Domini 1692. Massachusetts Historical Society.

Tutor Flynt's copy, given to the Society by Timothy Lindall Jennison (H. C. 1782) in 1792. Henry Flynt graduated in 1693 and was Tutor from 1699 to 1754.

1692 Another copy, 1701. Massachusetts Historical Society.

With the "Admittatur" of Edward Holyoke, Class of 1705, signed by Increase Mather just before the end of his term of office, which ceased September 6, 1701, and Jabez Fitch.

1692 Another copy, 1715. H. U. Archives.

With the "Admittatur" of Warham Williams, Class of 1719, signed by President John Leverett and Henry Flynt.

1692 Another copy, 1723. Massachusetts Historical Society.

With the "Admittatur" of Belcher Noyes, Class of 1727, signed by President Leverett.

1692 Another copy, 1733. Owned by Stephen W. Phillips of Salem.

With the "Admittatur" of Benjamin Parker, Class of 1737, signed by President Wadsworth and Nathan Prince.

A new Body of Laws was adopted in 1734. So far back as November 16, 1719, the Corporation had appointed a committee to make a collection of the College Laws to be laid before the Corporation in the following spring, together with a draft of such new laws as they shall think proper (College Book IV. 65), but nothing seems to have come of this. In fact there is no further reference to the subject in the Corporation Records until 1733. In the mean time, however, the Overseers took the matter up more than once. In 1723 they were conducting an inquiry

into the state of the College, the regular attendance of the students on religious and other exercises, etc., and on September 30, 1723, they asked the Corporation to collect a body of the College Laws and lay them before the Overseers (Overseers' Records I. 56). This the Corporation apparently did, and on November 18 the Overseers appointed a committee to consider the transcript laid before them and to see what deficiency of laws there might be and what further was requisite to be done (Overseers' Records, I. 60). The committee reported October 8, 1724, a draft of College Laws which was referred to the Corporation (I. 71).

On May 13, 1725, a Body of Laws consented to by the Corporation was presented to the Overseers and the first chapter of these Laws was read and debated, but the meeting ended without a vote's being taken. Here the matter seems to have been dropped, but on November 1, 1731, another committee was appointed to inquire into the state of the government, instruction, and accounts of the College. On September 6, 1732, this committee reported "That the Government of the sd College is but in a weak and declining state, partly thro a deficiency of Laws and partly by reason of some disputes and difficulties which have risen respecting the execution of laws in being." The committee made several proposals of which the first was as follows: "Forasmuch as the old English Laws of the College are utterly unknown to the Schollars and the Lattin Laws which they copy out in order to their admission were entered under a different Charter, That therefore there be a revisal of the whole and such alterations and additions made as the present Circumstances of the said Society require and that they be all in Latin and every Student have a Copy of them by him." Fifteen particular laws were recommended (Overseers' Records, I. 117-125), and the committee was instructed "to see the business of the first proposal," President Wadsworth, Dr. Joseph Sewall and Mr. Henry Flynt being added to its membership. On May 8, 1733, the Laws as prepared were referred to the Corporation. The Corporation Records (College Book IV. 170) on October 5, 1733, show that the Corporation met to consider and vote a draft of Laws for the College. The Overseers' Records tell us that the whole was presented and discussed 'at a joint meeting of Corporation and Overseers held in the College Library March 26, 1734. After several adjournments and references back and forth an agreement was reached, and on June 11, 1734, it was voted that the Body of Laws lately agreed upon by the Corporation and consented to by the Overseers be recorded in the College Books. (College Book IV. 173.) On September 24, 1734, the Overseers record a memorandum: "The New body of Laws were this day published in the College Hall before the Overseers & Corpora-

tion & in the audience of all the Schollars convened for that End" (I. 138). On the same day it was recommended to the Corporation to get the new body of Laws translated into Latin and that a proper Index be made to said Laws. The Corporation took notice of this on November 12 and voted "That Mr. Pres^t, Mr. Flynt and Mr. Sewal be desired to translate the Body of College Laws into Latin as soon as may be." There is no evidence, I believe, that a translation was ever made. The College Laws thus passed begin:

1734 "This Body of Laws for Harvard College was made by the President and Fellows thereof, and consented to by the Overseers of said College, Anno Domini 1734." College Book I. 182-206.

This is a much more elaborate code than had been in use before, disposed in eight chapters as follows: I. About admission into the College. II. Concerning a religious, virtuous life. III. Concerning scholastical exercises. IV. Concerning penal laws. V. Concerning the scholars' commons. VI. About academical degrees. VII. About the Steward, Cook, and Butler. VIII. Concerning miscellaneous matters.

The Laws of 1734 were soon supplemented by a Body of Laws for the Library adopted May 30, 1736 (College Book I. 164-166), and published in the College Hall July 1, 1736. These are not included among the Laws which students were obliged to copy out for their own use.

Of the Laws of 1734, the following copies written out by students are known to me:

1734 Body of Laws, 1735. H. U. Archives.

This copy comes from the papers of Meshech Weare of the Class of 1735.

1734 Another copy, 1735. Owned by Stephen W. Phillips of Salem.

This copy, like the copy of the Laws of 1692, mentioned above, was written out by Benjamin Parker of the Class of 1737, and naturally contains no "Admittatur" since he had already been admitted to College under the former code. The existence of this copy and that of Meshech Weare suggests that in 1734 all students then in College may have been required to write out the new code.

1734 Another copy, 1735. H. U. Archives.

Copy of Richard Waldron of the Class of 1738, with his "Admittatur" signed by Benjamin Wadsworth, President, Henry Flynt, and Daniel Rogers, April 22, 1735.

At the end of the Laws Waldron has written out the "College Customs Anno 1734-5." These "Customs," by which the conduct of Freshmen and their relations to the other classes were regulated, are printed in B. H. Hall's *College Words and Customs*, revised edition, 1856, pp. 215-

216; they are also to be found in substantially the same form in the Faculty Records (IV. 257) of 1781, nearly fifty years later (printed in Quincy's History, II. 539-541).

1734 Another copy, 1737. New England Historic Genealogical Society.

This was the copy of Timothy Prout of the Class of 1741, with his "Admittatur" signed by Edward Holyoke, President, Henry Flynt, Nathan Prince, Stephen Sewall, and Daniel Rogers, October 5, 1737. This copy has an index at the end, and at the beginning a catalogue of the Class of 1741.

1734 Another copy, 1739. H. U. Archives.

This was written by William Lawrence of the Class of 1743, and bears his "Admittatur," 1739, signed by Edward Holyoke, Pres., Nathan Prince, and Daniel Rogers.

1734 Another copy, 1755, with additions dated October 9 and 31, 1749, and September 16, 1751. New England Historic Genealogical Society.

This copy belonged to William Clark of the Class of 1759, and bears his "Admittatur" signed by Edward Holyoke, President, Belcher Hancock, Thomas Marsh, William Symmes, and William Kneeland, December 30, 1755. It also contains the "Customs of Harvard College," and catalogues of the Classes of 1757, 1758, 1759, 1760, and 1761.

1734 Another copy, 1759, with additions under date of October 3 and November 23, 1749, and September 16, 1751. H. U. Archives.

This was written by Benjamin Dolbeare of the Class of 1763, and bears his "Admittatur," January, 1760, signed by Edward Holyoke, Pres., Belcher Hancock, Thomas Marsh, William Kneeland, and Joseph Jackson.

1734 Another copy, 1762, with additions dated October 9 and 31, 1749, and March 29, 1757. H. U. Archives.

This copy belonged to Joseph Willard¹ of the Class of 1765, and con-

¹ There were two Joseph Willards in the class of 1765 — one, born December 29, 1738, in Biddeford, afterwards President of Harvard College from 1781 until his death in 1804; the other, born January 7, 1742, in Grafton, later minister in Mendon and in Boxborough, where he died in 1828. Both names are contained in the list of Freshmen as "placed" in the Faculty Records, February 5, 1762, though this "Admittatur" is dated "6^{to} Cal. Maij 1762" (i. e. April 26). Which Joseph wrote out this copy of the Laws does not appear by the inscription, but a comparison of the writing with President Willard's hand as found in a volume of Problems in Spherical Geometry and Trigonometry, written out when he was a Senior in College, makes it perfectly clear that these Laws were written by

tains his "Admittatur" dated 1762, signed by Edward Holyoke, Pres., Belcher Hancock, Thomas Marsh, William Kneeland, and Ebenezer Thayer.

1734-1767 College Laws. H. U. Archives. Received by gift from Robert C. Winthrop in 1879.

The first part of this copy bears on its cover the name of David Bucknam of the Class of 1737, but it was evidently used later by John Winthrop, probably of 1770, whose name is handsomely engrossed on one of the last leaves.

Part I, which ends with "Chapter VIII. Concerning Miscellaneous Matters," as in other copies of the Laws of 1734, is followed by Part II, dated 1767, and containing Chapters VI to X of the Laws of 1767.

From 1765¹ to 1767 it is apparent from various references in the Records of the Corporation and of the Overseers that a new body of laws was under discussion. December 12, 1765, Laws for the new Library (i. e., for the Library gathered since the fire of 1764) were adopted (College Book VII. 145-150). On September 4, 1766, it was voted "that Winthrop Sen^r ² be allowed the Sum of four Pounds for writing the College Laws," and on December 16 the Corporation voted that the Laws be translated into Latin "with all convenient Speed" and that they be printed. (College Book VII. 166.)

On January 16, 1767, we find in the Corporation Records: "The Scholars being at present unprovided with Copies of the College Laws, Voted that each of the Tutors shall read the Laws to their respective Classes as soon as may be and that such Reading shall be deemed a sufficient promulgation of Them And That an Authentic Copy of all the Laws, be likewise Kept in the Buttery for the Inspection of all the Scholars" (College Book VII. 167). The Laws nevertheless still required to be tinkered and on April 20 several amendments were voted (VII. 169).

On October 6, 1767, the Overseers put themselves on record as in favor of translating the laws into Latin, but as opposed to printing them

him. The fact that they are bound up with two official copies of the Laws of 1767 also points in the same direction.

¹ In the Corporation Records, November 18, 1760, there is a vote, "That Caryl who hath wrote the College Laws according to revisal of them by the Com^{tee} appointed for that Purpose, be allowed for the Service one Dollar p Day." This might be taken to indicate an earlier revision, but as no other references to such a revision are to be found at this time, I conclude that the copy written out by Caryl (Benjamin Caryl, H. C. 1738) was simply one in which recent changes in detail were incorporated.

² Adam Winthrop (H. C. 1767).

either in whole or in part, and they repeated the recommendation as to translation on May 3, 1768. On December 9 the Corporation voted that twelve copies of the Laws should be transcribed as soon as may be for the use of Professors, Tutors, Butler, and Monitors; and no further general vote is to be found in regard to their adoption as a whole.

The Laws of 1767 in their final shape covered ten chapters as follows:

1. Admission to the College. 2. Of a religious and virtuous life. 3. Of attendance on Scholastic exercises, of vacations and of absence. 4. Of Misdemeanors and criminal Offences. 5. Miscellaneous Laws. 6. Of Commons. 7. Of the Library. 8. Of the Governors and Officers of the College, their Duty and Powers. 9. Of Graduates and Fellow-Commoners. 10. Of Commencement and Academical Degrees.

1767 The Laws of Harvard College, carefully engrossed for official use. H. U. Archives. Many blank pages are left here and there for later use. Additions have been made down to 1788, with corresponding changes and cancellations in the original text. With an index at the beginning.

1767 Another copy, carefully engrossed for official use. H. U. Archives. With additions down to 1788 and with changes and cancellations in the text. Index at end.

1767 Another copy. H. U. Archives. With few changes or corrections.

No copies of the Laws of 1767 written out by students exist. This is explained by the change in Chapter I. In the Laws of 1734 we read (I. 2): "Every Candidate for Admission shall procure and keep by him a true Copy of the College Laws respecting his Duty and Priviledges, which being signed by the President and Major Part of the Tutors shall be his Admission into College." In the Laws of 1767 this paragraph is omitted, and we find (I. 3): "Every one that has been accepted on Examination shall, as soon as may be, exhibit to the President a Certificate from the Steward, that the foregoing Law [relating to payment of dues] has been complied with, upon the receipt of which the President shall sign an Order for the Admission of such Persons, in the following Words:

Cantabrigiæ Aug.

Admittatur in Collegium Harvardinum A. B.

Præses.

On May 14, 1790, the Corporation voted that the College Laws be printed in an edition of 700 copies, and here our survey of the manuscript laws properly ends, for now at length the Laws actually appeared as a printed pamphlet of 66 pages, entitled "The Laws of Harvard College.

Boston: Printed by Samuel Hall, at No. 53, Cornhill. M.DCC.XC." The old form of "Admittatur" was still preserved, however, and was printed at the end of the Laws that it might be signed in due course by the President.

On behalf of Mr. SAMUEL E. MORISON, the following communication was made:

WILL OF A BOSTON SLAVE, 1743

The following curious document, written in a crude and semi-illegible hand, is the holograph will of a negro slave, Peter, in the family of Thomas Fleet, Boston printer, bookseller, and publisher of the Boston Evening Post. It is now owned by Miss Mary Lincoln Eliot of Cambridge, a lineal descendant of Peter's master. The beneficiaries under this modest will are the children of the old slave's master, and their little playmates. Robin is Peter's son, Love his wife, and Venus a slave of the household, who, together with Abram, Jenny, Caesar, and Pompey, is mentioned in the inventory of Thomas Fleet's estate, dated 1759.¹

Here Children I leave you some thing, that's more than any Richest Master's, Servant would leave to their Master's Children considering what profit I have to my trade. Thomas Fleet jun Ten shillings and a pair of Buckles; but shall not wear them in three years from y^e time he has them. John Fleet — five shillings. Anne Fleet — five shillings. Elizabeth Fleet — five shillings. Simon five Shillings. Nathan Bowet jun^r five Shillings. Thomas Oliver five Shillings.

What little I had thought to give it to Molley; but thought her sister Anne would make a scuable, and take it from her; that made me con-

¹ Thomas Fleet died July 21, 1758. He left no will, but letters of administration were granted to his son William on December 15, 1758, and the inventory of his estate is dated June 1, 1759. The five slaves were valued as follows:

Negro Woman Named Venus abo ^t 33 years old	25 00 0
D ^o Boy Abram 3 years old	6 13 4
D ^o Girl Jenny 6 years old	16 00 0
D ^o Boy Pompey 14 years old	40 00 0
D ^o Boy Ceasar 11 years old	33 06 8

In an account rendered August 31, 1759, it is stated that £4 were received in cash "for Negro Girl Jenny above the appris^t." (Suffolk Probate Files, no. 11882.) On June 8, 1715, Thomas Fleet married Elizabeth Goose.

tinue so to do, &c. — There is more than enough, yet, left for Molley, because she is very good to servants.

Master and Mistres, I would not have you think that I got this money by Rogury in any thing belong'd to you or any body else, I got it honestly; by being faithful to people ever since I undertook to carry y^e Newspapers, Christmas-days, & New-years days, with contribution with gentlemen sometimes 3 pounds 10/^s and sometimes 4 pounds 10/^s and in y^e years 1743, 5 pounds I would Give you a true account; in my Box you may find a little cask with money, y^t I had when M^r Wollington was here, I could say when M^r Vaux was here, that I had some of his money, but I had so much dealing with a wench, y^t: I don't think that I have any of his money. One Way I and Love use to have when we had a great Work for y^e Booksellers, what money we use to have for to get Drink we kept it. I am no great Drinker Nor no Smoker, and I have a little more wit than I use to have formerly amongst y^e wenches. — You may find in my box a 3 pound Bill which I had for my Robin.

as witness our hands
NATHAN BOWEN Jun^r
THOMAS OLIVER y^e 3.

All that's left is for Moley & Venis.

Boston, June y^e 2, 1743.

PETER FLEET

Sign'd Seal'd & deliver'd
in presents of us, the above
Nam'd, & deliver'd to
N. Bowen jun^r

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS communicated a paper on "A Famous Harvard Controversy, 1720-1723."¹

¹ This paper will appear in the Transactions of a future meeting.

ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1923

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Wednesday, 21 November, 1923, at half-past six o'clock in the evening, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported the death, on the seventh and fourteenth of September respectively, of WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER and CHARLES WARREN CLIFFORD, both Resident Members.

The Annual Report of the Council was read by the Rev. Dr. CHARLES EDWARDS PARK.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

It is a favorite American fallacy to measure growth by mere physical enlargement, and to ignore the intensive growth of an institution which does its work year by year in the same unobtrusive way, within the same limitations of resources and purpose.

Your Council is not in the least ashamed to report that the past year has been one of customary activity, unmarked by any change in bulk or physical extent. The usual stated meetings have been held, in the usual place. The usual debt of gratitude to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences for their hospitality is hereby acknowledged. The April meeting was held at the home of Dr. Alfred Johnson, whose cordial hospitality warmed the hearts of all. The usual papers and communications have been presented and have gone to swell our growing library of Transactions. In other words, we have kept the even tenor of our way, which is precisely what we were meant to do.

In view of the death of Henry Herbert Edes, who for thirty years had been the mainspring of our existence, it is no small boast to be able to say that we have carried on as usual. We have missed him more than words can say, but we have discovered that, thanks to his fostering care, the Society is firmly rooted in our interests and affections.

During the year a memorial has been erected to Mr. Edes in the First Church. This memorial, which was first viewed on October seventh, is in the form of a rail around the reading desk. It is the design of our associate Mr. R. Clipston Sturgis, was executed by Mr. Angelo Lualdi in American walnut, hand carved, and will bear the following inscription:

IN MEMORY OF
HENRY HERBERT EDES
29 MARCH 1849
13 OCTOBER 1922
"NEW ENGLAND ANTIQUARIAN AND ANNALIST
ACCURATE REPRODUCER OF A REVERENCED PAST"
A COVENANTED MEMBER OF THIS CHURCH
TO HIS PRIDE IN HER HONORABLE HISTORY
MANY OF THE SURROUNDING MEMORIALS
OWE THEIR EXISTENCE
ERECTED BY HIS ASSOCIATES IN THE
COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS
1923

In addition to this memorial the Society has further honored the memory of its founder by creating, through the free-will offerings of our members and others, the HENRY HERBERT EDES MEMORIAL FUND, which now amounts to about \$3,000. This fund will be kept open, so that those wishing to add to it by gift or will may be sure of the opportunity.

The Editor reports that during the year encouraging progress has been made in the publication work of the Society. Of the five volumes that were going through the press in the spring, two have been completed. Volume XXIII, containing the second half of the Plymouth Church Records, is about to be distributed to members;

and Volume XXIV, containing Transactions, will follow in a few weeks. With those two volumes off his hands, the Editor is free to carry to completion Volumes XV and XVI, containing the Harvard College Records, and these may be expected toward the end of 1924. Volume XXV, the current Volume of Transactions, has reached page 237, and will probably be completed during 1924. Work on the Index to Volumes I-XXV is being steadily carried on.

During the year the following Resident Members have been elected:

ARTHUR STANWOOD PIER,
JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL,
KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK.

There have been five deaths during the year, as follows:

JOHN LOWELL: Born of a family of jurists, he was himself a lawyer of the highest standing, having won by his learning and integrity an international recognition. A man of intellectual honesty and great natural dignity, his breadth of interests and his lifelong devotion to his Alma Mater made him one of the best known Harvard men of his time.

GEORGE LINCOLN GOODALE, Fisher Professor of Natural History and Honorary Curator of the Botanical Museum: A thorough scientist, a born teacher and lecturer, a great traveller, a man of extraordinary industry, tactful, sensitive, refined. He had the gift of imparting to others his own clean and generous enthusiasms. He lived a long, happy, richly productive life, and died mourned by a host of friends and admirers.

JAMES MADISON MORTON, Associate Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts: A man of marked ability, learning, and sound judgment, he was utterly free of pedantry, and maintained throughout his life a quick human sympathy and a warm interest in human affairs. Leader of the Bar in his section of the Commonwealth, a devoted member of his Church, and the foremost citizen of his city.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, historian and biographer: A temperament that found its most congenial expression in ardent hero-worship; a character that saw moral values in strong contrast, feeling little patience for the neutral shades between right and wrong; and a mind of exceptional power, made him a vivid and sympathetic interpreter

of men of destiny. A Knight of the Order of the Crown of Italy, and of the Order of Saints Maurizio and Lazaro, he yet remained a passionate lover of his country and a simple-hearted, whole-souled friend.

CHARLES WARREN CLIFFORD: A lawyer who understood the law he practised. A generous, high-minded citizen, who won for himself a foremost place in the love and respect of his fellow townsmen. Blunt, open, frank, and hearty, he trod a straight path, and brightened it with clean laughter and unfailing helpfulness.

The TREASURER submitted his Annual Report, as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In accordance with the requirements of the By-Laws the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending November 16th, 1923.

CASH ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Balance, November 16, 1922, Principal cash	\$2,488.25	
Less Income overspent	<u>419.34</u>	\$2,068.91
Receipts of Principal:		
Mortgages, discharged	\$2,500.00	
Subscriptions to Editor's Salary Fund	800.00	
Subscriptions to Henry Herbert Edes Memorial Fund	3,744.60	
Horace Everett Ware Fund, income transferred to principal	195.18	
Income transferred to principal	662.00	
Commutation from one member	100.00	
Contributions	28.00	
Admission Fees	20.00	
Interest on Provident Institution for Savings account	<u>1.98</u>	
Total Principal receipts		\$8,051.76
Receipts of Income:		
Interest	\$7,309.14	
Annual Assessments	600.00	
Sales of the Society's Publications	63.00	
Contributions to defray portion of cost of publications	<u>232.00</u>	
Total Income receipts		<u>8,204.14</u>
		<u>16,255.90</u>
		<u>\$18,324.81</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

Disbursements of Principal:

Payment on account of loan	\$500.00	
Editor's Salary, paid from Salary Fund . .	1,000.00	
First Church, paid from Henry Herbert Edes Memorial Fund	750.00	
Interest on Provident Institution for Sav- ings added to Principal	1.98	
Total Principal disbursements . . .		\$2,251.98

Disbursements of Income:

University Press	\$3,521.92	
A. W. Elson & Company	552.59	
Folsom Engraving Company	62.00	
Boston Storage Warehouse Company . .	40.50	
Union Safe Deposit Vaults	20.00	
Stewart, Watts & Bollong, auditing services	285.00	
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, fuel, lights, and janitor service . . .	29.00	
State Street Trust Company, interest on loan, etc.	211.51	
J. Franklin Jameson, annual subscription toward the Bibliography of American Historical Writings	50.00	
Annual dinner	420.75	
Clerk hire	223.05	
Thomas F. Galvin	25.00	
Essex Institute	3.50	
Thomas S. Longridge, insurance	241.25	
S. D. Warren Company, paper	1,070.95	
Mary A. Tenney, Index to Volume 24 . .	125.00	
Miscellaneous	98.28	
Amount transferred to Principal account, interest on Horace E. Ware Fund . .	195.18	
Amount of income transferred to Principal	662.00	
Total Income disbursements . . .	7,837.48	\$10,089.46
Balance, November 16, 1923, Principal cash	\$5,293.43	
Less Income cash overspent	52.68	\$5,240.75
Cash, Henry Herbert Edes Memorial Fund	2,994.60	8,235.35
Total		<u>\$18,324.81</u>

The funds of the Society are invested as follows:

- \$28,750.00 in first mortgages payable in gold coin on improved property in
Greater Boston
85,892.50 in bonds elsewhere described in this report having a face value of
\$95,000
26.98 on deposit in the Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of
Boston

\$114,669.48

The investments of the Society yield an average annual income of approximately $6\frac{1}{2}\%$.

A Trial Balance of the accounts as of November 16th, 1923, is hereto annexed and made a part of this report.

WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT

Treasurer

TRIAL BALANCE

DEBITS

Cash, Principal	\$5,293.43		
Less Income overspent	52.68	\$5,240.75	
Cash, Henry Herbert Edes Memorial Fund		2,994.60	\$8,235.35
Provident Institution for Savings			26.98
Income			52.68
Mortgages			28,750.00
Bonds:			

\$5,000 Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards Company, Mortgage and Collateral Trust Refunding 5's, due 1940	\$3,762.50
5,000 Cedar Rapids Mfg. & Power Co., 1st Mtge. S. F. 5's, due 1953	4,450.00
5,000 Cleveland Union Terminal Co., 1st S. F. 5½'s, Series A, due 1972	4,980.00
5,000 Detroit Edison Company, 1st Mtge. Ref. 6's, due 1940	4,400.00
5,000 Oregon-Wash. R. R. & Navigation Co., 1st Mtge. Ref. 4's, Series A, due 1961	4,105.00
5,000 New England Tel. & Tel. Co., 1st Mtge. 5's, Series A, due 1952	4,875.00
5,000 New York Edison Company, 1st Mtge. Ref. 6½'s, Series A, due 1941	5,000.00
5,000 Northwestern Bell Telephone Co., 1st Mtge. 7's, Series A, due 1941	4,862.50
5,000 Philadelphia Company, 1st Ref. & Coll. Trust Mortgage 6's, Series A, due 1944	4,350.00
5,000 Pennsylvania Railroad Equipment Trust 6's, due 1935	5,000.00
5,000 United Electric Securities Corp. Coll. Trust S. F. 5's, due 1935-1942	3,750.00
5,000 Union Pacific Railroad Equip. Trust 7's, Series A, due 1932	5,000.00
5,000 Wickwire-Spencer Steel Corp., 1st Mtge. S. F. 7's, due 1935	5,000.00
5,000 Detroit Edison Company, 1st Mtge. Ref. 5's, Series A, due 1940	4,397.50

5,000 Minneapolis, St. Paul & S. S. Marie, 1st Mtge. Ref. 6's, Series A, due 1946 . .	\$5,000.00	
20,000 Western Tel. & Tel. Co., Coll. Trust 5's, due 1932	16,960.00	\$85,892.50
<u>\$95,000</u>		<u>\$122,957.51</u>

CREDITS

State Street Trust Company, loan		\$4,000.00
Editor's Salary Fund	\$800.00	
Publications Fund	10,000.00	
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund	10,000.00	
Edward Wheelwright Fund	20,000.00	
Robert Charles Billings Fund	10,000.00	
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund	5,000.00	
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., Fund	3,000.00	
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund	2,000.00	
William Watson Fund	1,000.00	
Horace Everett Ware Fund	3,448.18	
General Fund	20,714.73	
George Vasmer Leverett Fund	30,000.00	
Henry Herbert Edes Memorial Fund:		
Subscribed	\$3,744.60	
Paid First Church	750.00	2,994.60
		<u>118,957.51</u>
		<u>\$122,957.51</u>

Boston, 16 November, 1923

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the Accounts of the Treasurer for the year ending 16 November, 1923, have attended to their duty, and report that they find the Accounts correctly kept and properly vouched, and that proper evidence of the investments and of the balance of cash on hand has been shown to them.

This Report is based on the examination of Stewart, Watts & Bollong, Public Accountants and Auditors.

STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS

MORRIS GRAY

Auditing Committee

Boston, 21 November, 1923

The several Reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, the following list was presented; and, a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

PRESIDENT**FRED NORRIS ROBINSON****VICE-PRESIDENTS****ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG****GEORGE FOOT MOORE****RECORDING SECRETARY****HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM****CORRESPONDING SECRETARY****CHARLES EDWARDS PARK****TREASURER****WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT****REGISTRAR****ALFRED JOHNSON****MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS****STEPHEN WILLARD PHILLIPS**

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were Professor Albert Feuillerat of the University of Rennes, the Rev. Dr. Kirsopp Lake, the Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, and Messrs. Frank Brewer Bemis, James Williams Bowen, John Henry Edmonds, Charles Burton Gulick, Nelson Case Metcalf, William Otis Sawtelle, and Harry Walter Tyler. The **PRESIDENT** presided.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1923

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 20 December, 1923, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported the death on the twenty-ninth of November of CHARLES FRANCIS JENNEY, a Resident Member.

The Rt. Rev. CHARLES LEWIS SLATTERY of Boston, and Mr. FRANK BREWER BEMIS of Beverly, were elected Resident Members.

The PRESIDENT announced his appointment of Mr. ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE as a delegate from this Society to the annual Conference of Historical Societies to be held in Columbus this month in connection with the meeting of the American Historical Association.

The PRESIDENT submitted an account of the Henry Herbert Edes Memorial Fund and a list of contributors. The Fund now stands:

Total subscriptions	\$3,710.00
Interest on deposit	34.60
Total receipts	\$3,744.60
Less amount paid to rebuild chancel in First Church in Boston as a memorial to Mr. Edes	750.00
Balance of Fund, November 1, 1923	\$2,994.60

The following is a list of the subscribers to the Fund:

ALFRED LAWRENCE AIKEN	FREDERICK LAWTON
FRANCIS RANDALL APPLETON	HENRY LEFAVOUR
WILLIAM SUMNER APPLETON	HENRY CABOT LODGE
WALTER AUSTIN	CHARLES FRANCIS MASON
THOMAS WILLING BALCH	ALBERT MATTHEWS
WILLIAM KEENEY BIXBY	EDWARD PERCIVAL MERRITT
GEORGE NIXON BLACK	SAMUEL LYMAN MUNSON
ROGER BLANEY	CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS
CLARENCE SAUNDERS BRIGHAM	GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS
FREDERICK CHANNING BOWDITCH	JAMES ATKINS NOYES
HOWARD NICHOLSON BROWN	MISS SARAH CUSHING PAINE
AUGUSTUS GEORGE BULLOCK	CHARLES EDWARDS PARK
SAMUEL CHESTER CLOUGH	JAMES PARKER PARMENTER
ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE	STEPHEN WILLARD PHILLIPS
MISS CLARA RACHEL CORLISS	MRS. WILLIAM VEAZIE PRATT
HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM	EDWARD KENNARD RAND
ELBRIDGE GERRY CUTLER	FRED NORRIS ROBINSON
FREDERICK DODGE	MRS. FRED NORRIS ROBINSON
CHARLES FRANCIS DOWSE	JAMES HARDY ROPES
WILLIAM BRADFORD HOMER DOWSE	ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG
JOHN HENRY EDMONDS	MRS. CHARLES ROBERT SANGER ¹
CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT	JOHN SINGER SARGENT
ALFRED WALTER ELSON	FREDERICK CHEEVER SHATTUCK
JOHN WHITTEMORE FARWELL	WILLIAM SIMES
ALLAN FORBES	FRANKLIN BACHE STEPHENSON
ARTHUR FOOTE	MISS MARY GODDARD STORER
ROBERT HALLOWELL GARDINER	EDMUND CHANNING STOWELL
CHARLES HALL GRANDGENT	MRS. EDMUND CHANNING STOWELL
MORRIS GRAY	RICHARD CLIFSTON STURGIS
CHARLES MONTRAVILLE GREEN	MRS. ROBERT NOXON TOPPAN
CHESTER NOYES GREENOUGH	HARRY WALTER TYLER
FRANCIS RUSSELL HART	WINTHROP HOWLAND WADE
GEORGE HENRY HAYNES	CHARLES JAMES WHITE
JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL	MISS GERTRUDE RICHARDSON WHITE
ALFRED JOHNSON	JAMES BENJAMIN WILBUR
NATHANIEL THAYER KIDDER	SAMUEL WILLISTON
CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN	

Mr. FRANCIS T. BOWLES made the following communication:

¹ In memory of her father, Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis.

THE LOYALTY OF BARNSTABLE IN THE REVOLUTION

Local historians have noted with evident reluctance that the town of Barnstable declined to instruct its representative in the colonial assembly for independence in 1776, and naturally have not enlarged upon circumstances which indicated a close and varying division of opinion in the town between loyalty to the king and devotion to the patriot cause. It has been stated¹ that Barnstable was the only town in the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay which failed to instruct for independence, but this is difficult to verify, as the province records do not show a return of the action of the towns.

This memoir is an attempt to ascertain the leadership of those who so often in the town affairs thwarted the revolutionists and continued loyal to the mother country. The facts indicate that Edward Bacon of Barnstable — selectman, judge, representative, deacon — was the active political force.

On May 9, 1776, the House of Representatives adopted and sent up for concurrence the following resolution:

Resolved, That it be, and hereby is recommended to each Town in this Colony, who shall send a Member or Members to the next General Assembly, fully to possess him or them with their Sentiments relative to a Declaration of Independency of the United Colonies on *Great-Britain*, to be made by Congress, and to instruct them what Conduct they would have them observe with Regard to the next General Assembly's instructing the Delegates of this Colony on that subject.

Sent up for Concurrence.²

On May 10 the Council non-concurred,³ upon which the House immediately passed the following resolution:

Resolved, As the Opinion of this House that the Inhabitants of each Town in this Colony, ought in full Meeting warned for that Purpose, to advise the Person or Persons who shall be chosen to Represent them in the next General Court, whether that if the honorable Congress should,

¹ F. Freeman, *History of Cape Cod*, ii. 311-312.

² House Journal, p. 269.

³ Massachusetts Archives, ccix. 153. This document is the resolve of May 9, signed "Sam^l Freeman Speak^r P. T." And below is written: "In Council May 10th 1776 Read & nonconcurred Perez Morton D Secr^y."

for the Safety of the said Colonies, declare them Independent of the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, they the said inhabitants will solemnly engage their Lives and Fortunes to Support the Congress in the Measure.

Ordered, That Mr. *Cooper*¹ get the foregoing Resolve printed in the several News-Papers, as soon as possible.²

To the next House it was manifest, in spite of the publication of the above resolve "in the public News-Papers,"³ that "some Towns . . . were not so seasonably favoured with the said Prints, as to have it in their Power to instruct their Representatives, agreeable to Advice in said Resolve (had they been so minded);" and on June 7 it was resolved "That such Towns as have not complied with the Resolve aforesaid . . . duly warn a Town-Meeting for such Purpose, as soon as may be," and that handbills "be forthwith Printed, and sent to such Towns, for the Purpose aforesaid."⁴

The records of the town of Barnstable show that at a meeting held on June 25, of which Nymphas Marston was chosen moderator, in response to this resolve it was "Voted not to give any instructions to the Representative with Respect to Independence." The failure of the majority of citizens to offer their lives and fortunes for independence aroused a strong remonstrance. On the same day (June 25) Joseph Otis and fourteen others signed a protest;⁵ and on the next day (June 26) a second protest was signed by Joseph Otis and twenty-two others.⁶ The first of these protests drew from Captain Sturgis Gorham a letter dated July 9 defending the action of the town meeting.⁷ To this Joseph Otis replied in a letter dated July 18,⁸ and a rejoinder by Captain Gorham was printed in a Boston paper of August 8.⁹

Meanwhile, these protests and the press comments resulted in a town meeting on July 23, with Nymphas Marston again moderator. The record of the meeting of June 25 was read, also the

¹ William Cooper (1720-1809), a representative from Boston, and long its town clerk.

² House Journal, p. 276.

³ The resolve of May 10 was printed in the Boston Gazette of May 13, p. 2/2, and in the New England Chronicle of May 16, p. 2/2.

⁴ See appendix, no. 3.

⁷ See appendix, no. 6.

⁵ See appendix, no. 4.

⁸ See appendix, no. 7.

⁶ See appendix, no. 5.

⁹ See appendix, no. 8.

protest dated June 26 and a letter of Captain Gorham, and the following resolutions were adopted:

Voted to read Capt. Gorham's request to the publick.

Voted to give the thanks of the town to Capt. Sturgis Gorham for his Care in Vindicating the¹ News papers desiring the publick to Suspend their opinions of this town till the truth might be known.

Voted that this town in their meeting of the 25th of June last the Question was put whether the town would instruct their Representative with Respect to Independence it passed in the Negative.

Voted The true intent & meaning of the Town was that they would Leave the matter to their Representative when at the general Court.

At the afores'd Meeting July 23d, 1776.

Voted that the piece published in the Watertown news paper² of July the 8th Cur't Called a protest of a number of Respectable inhabitants of the town of Barnstable Signed by Joseph Otis Esq. & fourteen Others is a Wrong and Injurious Representation of the proceeding of the town of Barnstable.

The intense feeling in the town arising over this affair of independency had originated some time before on matters of the patriot cause and finally culminated three years later when the leader of the loyal faction, Edward Bacon, was excluded from the House.

From a letter written by Samuel Adams to James Otis on March 19, 1773, it would appear that friction had arisen at a town meeting held just before, for Adams states that in an anonymous letter received by William Molineux "mention is made of some rude Aspersions cast upon the character of himself and several others of our Committee by your Representative M^r Bacon in a public meeting in your Town."³

The town records also give some indication of the trouble. It was evidently a patriots' meeting that was held on October 12, 1774, with James Otis⁴ as moderator, when a Committee of Correspondence was appointed, consisting of James Otis, Joseph Otis, Daniel Davis, Dr. Abner Hersey, Eli Phinney, Joseph Hallett, and George Lewis, all of whom were adherents of the patriot side.⁵

¹ Here the word "Watertown" is erased.

² Boston Gazette; see appendix, no. 4.

³ See appendix, no. 1.

⁴ Colonel James Otis (1702-1778), at one time Speaker of the House, was the father of James Otis (1725-1783) the Patriot and of Joseph Otis (1726-1810).

⁵ See appendix, no. 2.

Edward Bacon had previously opposed the appointment of the committee, as is shown by the affidavit of Joseph Otis, dated October 9, 1778. Otis avers that he took down Bacon's words at a town meeting, which was presumably that held in March, 1773, where, in referring to the Boston committee with which the local committee was invited to correspond, Bacon said:

Some of Said Committee were the Vilest of men, that it was Scandalous to Correspond With them, and on being checked for the Aspersions (by Some one) he made an Apology with regard to my Brother and Particularized Mr. Mollineaux Mr. Dennie & Dr. Young as men of very bad Characters (as near as I can Remember), Intimating one was an Atheist, one Never Went to Meeting, and the Other was Incontinent . . . and Strenuously Opposed Chuseing a Committee which by his Influence was Carried in the Negative.¹

¹ See appendix, no. 11. It should be stated, however, that no record of a town meeting except the one referred to (October 12, 1774) has been found dealing with this subject. The Boston Committee of Correspondence, organized on November 2, 1772, sent their letter to the towns under date of November 20 (Boston Records, xviii. 93, 94). This letter was brought to the attention of the town of Barnstable by a written request of more than ten freeholders. It is probable that trouble was anticipated on this subject, because it was arranged in advance that the annual town meeting held on March 10, 1773, with James Otis as moderator, should be adjourned to March 22 after having adopted a vote appointing James Otis, Daniel Davis, Edward Bacon, Nymphas Marston, and Cornelius Crocker a committee "to take under Consideration The Request of a Number of free holders who have Set forth that our Liberties are Encroached upon & Also our Rights as Stated by the Committee of Correspondence of the Town of Boston & the infringements of the Same and make Report at the adjournment of this Meeting." It is probable that this committee did not agree and that it contained a majority of loyalists. At the adjourned meeting on March 22, Eli Phinney, Joseph Otis, Ebenezer Jenkins, and David Smith were added to the committee. This addition of numbers left the committee of nine with four probable loyalists and four probable patriots, the sentiments of the ninth member being unknown. The meeting was then adjourned without action on this matter, and after two intervening meetings, also without action, a special town meeting was held on May 18, with James Otis as moderator. At this meeting Edward Bacon was elected a representative "by the Major Vote of the Electors present;" and —

"The Committee appointed to take into Consideration the Request of a Number of Freeholders Respecting our Rights, etc. & Report Reported which Report was Accepted by the Town.

"Voted that the above Sd. Report be for Instructions to our present Representative.

On January 4, 1775, a town meeting was held of which Edward Bacon was chosen moderator. Votes were passed directing the constable not to collect the province rate for the year, or to pay the province tax for the past year or current year to the province treasurer. It was also voted not to buy any small arms nor ammunition for the town's use. The record contains these sentences: "In respect of encouraging Minute men the town declined acting,"

"Voted that the town Clerk Deliver an attested Copy of the Sd. Report to Sd. Representative and that he Cause the Same to be printed in the publick Newspapers."

Accordingly the report, though not recorded in the town records, was printed in several Boston newspapers, among them the Boston Evening Post of May 31, 1774, p. 4/3. The report did not recommend the appointment by Barnstable of a committee of correspondence. If, therefore, Joseph Otis's charge was a just one, it would seem that it was through the influence of Edward Bacon that the report did not make such a recommendation. The report here printed is taken from the Boston News Letter of June 3, 1773 (p. 1/3):

Proceedings of the Town of Barnstable.

THE Freeholders of the Town of *Barnstable*, legally assembled by adjournment the 18th day of May 1773, to take into consideration the Report of a Committee chosen agreeable to the request of more than ten Freeholders, Inhabitants of said Town, the said Committee reported as follows (viz.)

THE Committee appointed to take into consideration the request of more than ten Freeholders, Inhabitants of the Town of *Barnstable*, requesting said Town to take into consideration the several matters of grievance therein mentioned, and to act and do thereon what the Town might think proper to be done, &c. — beg leave to report, as their opinion, that when and so often as the good people of this Province are unjustly burthened by any Acts of the British Parliament, or by any Measures that may be adopted by the King's Ministers and carried into execution, subversive of their Rights either civil or religious as well as those Burthens and Innovations, of which they at present so justly complain, they have a just right with a decent firmness to remonstrate against them, and humbly to petition their most gracious Sovereign through the representative body of the people for redress of the same, which your Committee apprehend to be not only a constitutional Measure; but also to have been the invariable Usage of this people from the first granting the present Charter, and even from the first settlement of this Country. We are also of opinion and are even well assured that the representative body of the people not only in the late but also in former Assemblies exerted themselves as Guardians of the Rights and Liberties of the People for the time being in drawing up, passing and entering on their Journals from time to time firm and manly Resolves against the unconstitutional Infringements that have been made on our Rights & Privileges as generally comprehended in a Pamphlet published by order of the Town of Boston; and have also often remonstrated against such Infringements & Innovations to his most gracious Majesty, and also petitioned him from time to time for Redress;

and "The town declined sending any person to the provincial Congress."¹ It is evident that the loyalists were in charge of this meeting; but the results were not agreeable, for shortly after another town meeting was held, on January 24, when James Otis was chosen moderator and the only business transacted was the election of Daniel Davis, a patriot, as representative to the Provincial Congress to be held at Cambridge in the following February.

On April 20th nineteen soldiers were privately mustered at Barnstable and started for Boston. They are said to have taken part in the battle at Bunker Hill.² The patriots were now aroused.

to which Petitions we hope to receive Answers of Peace. We also offer it as our opinion that it would be highly expedient for this Town to instruct their Representative to use his utmost Endeavor in a constitutional Way for redress of all Grievances, and for supporting us in our just Rights and Privileges and also that some faithful Person be chosen as Agent for this Province to appear for us at Great-Britain at this time of our Distress and Danger.

JAMES OTIS, per Order.

Which Report was accordingly accepted and the Town voted that a Copy of said Report and the Proceedings thereon be delivered to the Representative for his Instructions, and that he cause the same to be printed in the publick Newspapers.

The above is a true Copy of the Report and Proceedings thereon.

Attest. JOSIAH CROCKER, Town-Clerk.

It is apparent that the loyalists had their way, for the resolution advocated petition to the king rather than preparations for resistance.

It is remarkable, however, that the same issue of the Boston News Letter published the complete vote of the House of Representatives on May 28 for the appointment of a Committee of Correspondence for the colonies, in response to a suggestion of the Virginia House of Burgesses, and that Edward Bacon voted "Yea," there being 113 members present and only four dissentients.

The pamphlet referred to in the committee's report is the one printed under the title: "The Votes and Proceedings of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, In Town Meeting assembled, According to Law. [Published by Order of the Town.] To which is prefixed, as Introductory, An attested Copy of a Vote of the Town at a preceeding Meeting." It contains the meeting of November 2, 1772, pp. [iii]-iv; the meeting of November 20, 1772, pp. [1]-29; A Letter of Correspondence, to the other Towns, dated November 20, 1772, pp. 30-36; and Appendix, pp. 37-43.

¹ See appendix, no. 2.

² C. F. Swift, *Cape Cod* (1897), pp. 173-174, 184. News of the battle of Lexington reached Barnstable April 20: see J. G. Palfrey, *Discourse pronounced at Barnstable on the Third of September, 1839* (1840), p. 34. In a letter to George Watson of Plymouth dated April 21, Edward Bacon wrote: "I shall not at this time trouble you with the heart felt distress under which I now groan for the distress scituation of my dear country, but only to desire you to favor us

A town meeting was held on April 25, 1775, with James Otis as moderator, and it was voted to purchase 120 small arms with ammunition. Daniel Davis, Joseph Otis, and Eli Phinney were the committee to buy the ammunition and dispose of it. It was also voted that three military watches be established under three captains, James Davis, Benjamin Lumbert, and Ebenezer Jenkins, but without any charge to the town. The plan to buy arms was rescinded at a subsequent meeting, but later carried through.

The events of the year 1777 brought great distress to Barnstable and other Cape towns from the requisitions for men, clothing, and food which they were unable to furnish. This condition probably influenced the town of Barnstable in its election of Edward Bacon its representative in the State Assembly for 1778, which occurred at a town meeting held on May 12, 1778, at which Daniel Davis was moderator. This action of the town brought to light the antagonisms generated by the earlier events and made Edward Bacon the subject of a public controversy extending over the two following years and ending in his expulsion from the State Assembly, to which he was elected on May 20, 1779, Nymphas Marston moderator.

Edward Bacon is thus referred to in a manuscript memoir of the Bacon family:

Honorable Edward Bacon, youngest son of Deacon Samuel Bacon and Sarah Taylor Allyn was born Jany 23rd 1714-15. He was a distinguished man in his time, and occupied for many years a prominent place in the town, county and Colony. He held many important offices and performed his various public duties with signal ability. He was sometime town clerk, a deacon of the church eight years a selectman, a representative to the General Court in 1773-4-8-9 and 80,¹ a delegate to the convention in Cambridge for forming a new Constitution in 1779, and continued in office as a Judge of the Common Pleas and General sessions from his appointment in 1764 to the Revolution. During the Revolution and in the active times immediately preceding it, he took an active part. His patriotism was at one time doubted;

with the most particular acco^t of the late dreadful maneuvers that have taken place of late to the northward that has come to y^r hand" (2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xii. 345-346).

¹ See p. 277 note 5, below.

but the resolutions passed by the town and recorded vindicate his character as a patriot and a man.¹

The following paragraph, written by Julian Sturgis, gives probably the current opinion of his political attitude:

So little indeed was there of hostility between the friends of the king and the opponents of his governor, that even in 1773, when the distinctions had been drawn far more sharply by mere force of circumstances, and when Mrs. James Perkins — the daughter of our good Mr. Peck, and widow of James Perkins who was a prominent patriot and had signed the remonstrance to Governor Hutchinson — thought it best to retire from Boston, it was a noted loyalist, Squire Bacon (and the more noted because loyalists were very few outside the limits of Boston), who welcomed her and her eight children.²

The election of Edward Bacon to the State Assembly of 1778 brought forth a petition from Joseph Otis and others under date of May 22, 1778, alleging —

that whereas a Majority of a Meeting, though not a Majority of the Town voted Edward Bacon Esq^r their Representative by which a Man uniformly & openly as well as invariably an Abetter of Bernard & Hutchinsons wicked Measures, an avowed Opposer of Congresses Colonial & Continental & a professed Enemy to the Independency of America, is got into power at a Season the most critical this or any Country ever knew, and appears the Representative of this Town, wherefore as in Duty bound to your Honors ourselves & the glorious Cause of Liberty, we . . . take this Method . . . to enter our protest against a Representation by the said Edward Bacon Esq^r being a Man unfriendly to the common Cause, of arbitrary & dangerous principles, and intreat your Honors to take effectual measures to exclude the said Edward Bacon from the publick Councils for ever.³

¹ See p. 273, below, and appendix, no. 13.

² J. Sturgis, *From Books and Papers of Russell Sturgis* (Oxford, 1893), pp. 17-18.

³ See appendix, no. 9. "We hear that the towns of Sandwich and Plimouth have instructed their members to use their influence and endeavors, in the House of Representatives, that EDWARD BACON, Esq; be dismissed from the House, from the most plenary convictions that said Bacon has been, during the whole of the present contest, and still is an implacable enemy to the freedom and independence of America; and that some other towns will soon follow the same example" (Boston Gazette, August 10, 1778, p. 3/2). A town meeting

This petition was read in the House on October 14, 1778, and referred for trial to the next session.¹

To assist him before the General Court, Bacon and his friends arranged for a special town meeting, held on December 16, 1778. The moderator was his staunch supporter, Squire Marston. The town record² shows that the meeting was held for the sole purpose of considering the petition of Joseph Otis and 28 others to the House of Representatives praying for the exclusion of Edward Bacon from the public councils forever. A committee reported and the meeting approved seven resolutions, saying that reflections in the petition were unjustifiable to both Edward Bacon and the "loyal inhabitants;" that he was properly elected; that the charges proceeded from a family quarrel and were the result of envy; that the petition was unjust and surreptitious; that there was no backwardness in the present war on Bacon's part; that the petition was a malicious libel; and praying the General Court to dismiss it.

The votes of this town meeting have been regarded by Freeman and others³ as Bacon's complete vindication, but would appear to-day as the declamatory efforts of a dwindling faction.

A hearing duly took place on the appointed day, January 13, when a further hearing was assigned to February 3.⁴ On January 18, held at Plymouth on June 15 passed a vote in practically these exact words (Records of the Town of Plymouth, 1903, iii. 349). Under date of December 7, 1770, there is an allusion to Bacon in the same records (iii. 234).

¹ House Journal, October 14, 1778:

A Petition and Remonstrance of *Joseph Otis*, and a Number of others, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Town of *Barnstable*, against *Edward Bacon*, Esq; a Representative for said Town, praying, for Reason offered, that the said *Bacon* be excluded from the public Councils.

Read and thereupon the House assigned the second Wednesday of the next Session, for hearing the Petitioners in Support of their Petition, and the said *Bacon* in his Defence thereof. And,

Ordered, That the Clerk serve the Parties with a Copy of this Order, and Mr. *Bacon* with a Copy of said Petition. (P. 78.)

On October 16 the House adjourned to the first Wednesday in January, 1779, which was January 6.

² See appendix, no. 13.

³ Cf. J. G. Palfrey, *Discourse* (1840), p. 39 (where Bacon is referred to without being named); Amos Otis, *Barnstable Families* (ed. C. F. Swift), i. 27, 226.

⁴ House Journal, January 13, 1779:

The House proceeded to the Hearing on the Petition of *Joseph Otis*, Esq; and others against *Edward Bacon*, Esq; And,

however, it was announced that an agreement had been reached and consideration was assigned to January 21,¹ on which day Bacon's resignation was accepted and a precept for a new election was issued,² he having agreed to resign and to go home, compose all difficulties and convince all that he was a good friend to his country. The negotiations in this affair are well set forth in an affidavit of Joseph Otis and Ebenezer Jenkins of April 1, 1779.³ Bacon returned to Barnstable and was immediately re-elected to the Assembly by a town meeting on March 18, 1779, of which Nymphas Marston was moderator. Evidently he had not composed the trouble in the town, for a petition was promptly filed against him by Daniel Davis and others on the following day.⁴ This petition was not acted upon, because Bacon did not enroll for the remainder of this session.

On Motion, Ordered, That *Joseph Nye, jun.* and *Solomon Otis, Esq's*, of *Harwich*, in the County of *Barnstable*, be appointed to take Depositions, at the Expence of this State, to be used in the Hearing on the said Petition.

Then the House assigned Wednesday the third Day of *February* next for the further Hearing and Consideration of the Matter.

It was moved that the Town of *Barnstable* be notified of this Assignment, and the Question being put, after Debate thereon, it pass'd in the Negative. (P. 96.) For Solomon Otis, see Note, p. 360, below.

¹ House Journal, January 18, 1779:

Upon the Petition of *Joseph Otis, Esq*; and others, against *Edward Bacon, Esq*; it was represented to the House that the Parties had agreed that the Depositions and other Papers on both Sides be admitted, and that the Matter should be taken up next Wednesday at 10 o'Clock, or as soon as may be.

The Agreement was in writing under their Hands and delivered to the House.

Whereupon the House assign'd Thursday next at 10 o'Clock in the Forenoon accordingly. (P. 102.)

² House Journal, January 21, 1779:

Col. *Freeman* informed the House that *Joseph Otis, Esq*; and others, Petitioners against *Edward Bacon, Esq*; and the said *Edward Bacon, Esq*; had agreed as follows, viz.

That the said *Bacon* should resign his Seat in the House, and that a new Precept issue to the Town of *Barnstable*, for the Choice of a Representative, and that the Petitioners withdraw their Petition. Whereupon,

Voted, That the Resignation of the said *Edward Bacon, Esq*; of his Seat in the House be accepted, and that a Precept be issued to the Town of *Barnstable* for a new Choice.

Also *Voted*, That *Joseph Otis, Esq*; and others have Leave to withdraw their Petition. (P. 107.)

³ See appendix, no. 28.

⁴ See appendix, no. 22.

On May 20, 1779, Edward Bacon was elected by Barnstable as its representative in the General Court and on the same day a petition was largely signed against seating him.¹ He appeared in the House May 31, 1779, but was not allowed to take his seat pending a hearing on the petition set for June 1st.² On that day Bacon was admitted to the House and, after a dilatory motion made by him and a motion to reconsider were voted down 74 to 53 and 64 to 61,³ the depositions produced by the petitioners were read and oral testimony of several persons taken. A motion followed to appoint a committee to bring in a resolve expelling Edward Bacon, and it was passed by a majority of 95 members out of 100.⁴ On June 2

¹ See appendix, no. 30.

² House Journal, May 31, 1779:

Edward Bacon, Esq; was returned a member from the town of *Barnstable*, . . .

A Petition of *Daniel Davis*, and a number of other inhabitants of the town of *Barnstable*, praying that they may have a hearing on two former petitions against *Edward Bacon, Esq;* and that said *Bacon* may not be permitted to have a seat in the House:

Read, and on Motion *Voted*, That said *Bacon* be not admitted to a seat in the House until a hearing is had on the subject matter of said petitions: —

Then the House assigned three o'clock to-morrow afternoon for a hearing accordingly. (P. 14.)

³ On June 1, in the morning, the House "*Ordered*, That Mr. *Bacon* be furnished with a copy of the petition against him, from a number of the inhabitants of *Barnstable*" (House Journal, p. 17). In the afternoon Bacon was admitted to the House, and "The members of the honorable Board" — that is, the Council — "attended agreeably to the invitation of the House," and the House "then proceeded to the order of the day."

The petitions above-mentioned were read; upon which Mr. *Bacon* moved that a further time might be allowed him to collect evidence, and prepare for his defence; after a long debate thereon the question was put, and it passed in the negative, the number of the House being 127, and only 53 voting in favor of the question.

It was moved that this vote be reconsidered, and the question being put it passed also in the negative, the number of the House being 125, and only 61 voting for the question.

A number of depositions addressed by the petitioners were then read and the verbal testimonies of several persons heard:

It was thereupon moved, That a committee be appointed to bring in a resolve for expelling the said *Edward Bacon, Esq;* from this House; and the question being put it passed in the affirmative by a majority of 95 members out of 100. (Pp. 18-19.)

⁴ House Journal, p. 19.

Bacon's petition¹ for reconsideration was read and dismissed.² On June 3, 1779, the House read and accepted the report of its committee as follows:

WHEREAS Edward Bacon, Esq; who has been returned by the town of Barnstable, to represent them in the Great and General Court the present year, has been charged with a disqualification to set in said House; and after a motion of the said Edward Bacon for postponing the consideration of said charges had been considered and determined in the negative; it appearing to the House that the said Edward Bacon, Esq; was returned a member from the said town of Barnstable for the year last past, and that Joseph Otis, Esq; and others, on the 14th day of October last, remonstrated against his holding a seat in the said House; that the second Wednesday of the then next session was assigned for a hearing of the same: And Ordered, That the said Edward Bacon, Esq; should be served with a copy of said remonstrance, at which time, viz: On the 13th of January last past, on motion, the 3d day of February next was assigned for a further hearing; that on the 18th of said January, be agreed that he was ready for his trial, and the 21st of said January was assigned for the same, at which time the said Edward Bacon, Esq; resigned his seat in that House; that the present remonstrance refers to the former one for the articles of charge, and contains no new matter: And the said Edward Bacon has not mentioned any new evidence he wanted to procure, who could testify any thing which appeared to the House essential to his defence. The House have proceeded to a full enquiry into the evidences in support of said charges; and after a full and impartial hearing, do resolve, That whereas it appears to this House that Edward Bacon, Esq; of Barnstable, who is returned as chosen by that town to represent them in the Great and General Court the ensuing year, was in the administration of the late Governor Bernard, Hutchinson and Gage, adherent to them and to the measures of the British ministry against this then province, and set himself zealously and uniformly in opposition to the endeavors of the good people of this government to resist them and obtain a redress of the same; and that the said Edward Bacon,

¹ See appendix, no. 32.

² House Journal, June 2, 1779:

A petition of *Edward Bacon, Esq;* praying in substance that the votes of the House passed yesterday, respecting his trial might be re-considered:

Read, and thereupon it was moved that the vote against allowing *Mr. Bacon* a further time to prepare for his defence, should be re-considered, and a time given him for that purpose; and after debate thereupon, the question was put and it passed in the negative. Then

Voted, That said petition be dismissed. (P. 19.)

Esq; hath been inimical to the revolution of the government and independency of this State, and of the other United States of America, and to their measures to support and establish the same; and that he still continues inimically disposed towards them: And whereas it is unlawful, dangerous and unnecessary, more especially at so critical a period, that a person of such principles, disposition and conduct should hold a seat in the House of Representatives of this State: Therefore,

*Resolved, That the said Edward Bacon, Esq; be, and he hereby is excluded from taking or holding a seat in this House.*¹

In an appendix I have brought together the depositions taken, the petitions presented, and other documents relating to the career of Edward Bacon.² All the petitions against Bacon make substantially the same charges: that he was an open abettor of Bernard and Hutchinson; that he opposed colonial and Continental Congresses; that he was an enemy to independence; and that he was unfriendly to the common cause and of arbitrary and dangerous principles. The affidavits of persons, fourteen from Barnstable³ and five from neighboring towns,⁴ sustain the specific charges.

Bacon was a Judge of the Common Pleas Court from 1764 and a member of the General Court in 1757, 1758, 1759, 1772, 1773, 1774, 1778, 1779, and 1780.⁵ Stephen Nye of Sandwich, a fellow-

¹ House Journal, p. 24. "On the 4th day of this inst. *Edward Bacon, Esq;* of Barnstable, was 'excluded from the House of Representatives on account of his inimical disposition & conduct towards this & the United States'" (Boston Gazette, June 7, 1779, p. 2/3).

² For a list of these, see p. 283, below.

³ See appendix, nos. 11, 14-20, 23, 24, 26-28.

⁴ See appendix, nos. 10, 12, 21, 25, 29.

⁵ Cf. Massachusetts Province Laws, xvi. 5, 205, 365, xviii. 617, 707, 799, xx. 421, xxi. 513.

The statement that Bacon was a representative in 1780 requires a word of explanation. It will be remembered that there were two General Courts in 1780—one, the last under the State of Massachusetts Bay, which sat from May 31 to October 4; the other, the first under the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which met on October 25. Bacon was elected to the first of these, but not to the second. For references to Bacon's activities, see the indexes to vols. iv, v, xvi-xxi, of the Massachusetts Province Laws.

The Massachusetts Historical Society owns three letters written by Edward Bacon: (1) July 15, 1760, to Col. James Otis, "Respecting the Nova Scotia french Now with us" (signed also by Daniel Davis); (2) November 25, 1762, to Joseph Otis, about gurry; (3) March 29, 1771, to Joseph Otis, about the settlement of an estate.

member of the General Court, says that Bacon opposed selecting delegates to the Continental Congress, that he favored a petition to the king, and that he always defended the proceedings of Hutchinson and Bernard in everything that was brought before the House. Nye also testified that he believed that Edward Bacon's influence was the principal cause of all the opposition in the county to measures affecting the affairs of the colonies, that he always sustained the character of a high tory, and that his election to the House of 1778 was a cause of great uneasiness to the people.¹

Bacon's townsmen testify (in such numbers that we may reasonably accept their statements as facts) that at the town meeting on January 4, 1775, Bacon, as moderator, having obtained permission to express his views, said that, instead of raising money to buy arms and ammunition and choosing a man to go to Congress, we had better petition the king while he was far off, for the time was coming when he would set up his standard and we should fly to use it with trembling hands and aching hearts. It was also testified that he possessed and circulated copies of the Howes' proclamations, that he advocated their terms, that he opposed the draft and actively persuaded men not to enlist in the army, that he actively opposed independence at a town meeting, that his conscience would not permit him to fight against the king, and that he was opposed to the war.

It seems to be clearly established that prior to the Revolution Edward Bacon did and said all those things that a loyal servant of the king might be expected to do, but that after the Revolution was under way his convictions of loyalty continued to be expressed and acted upon in ways that elsewhere in the colony would not have been tolerated. Only his local political ascendancy saved him from exile and the confiscation of his property.

It was not long after he was excluded from the General Court that Edward Bacon decided to bring his accusers before the Church. This he must have done with some care and deliberation, because, for some time before his complaint was made against twelve fellow-members of his church, he had withdrawn from communion and from performance of his duties as deacon. The full record of his complaint begins under date of June 22, 1780. The pastor read the

¹ See appendix, no. 12.

complaint, by Edward Bacon, against twelve of the brethren whom he charged "had brought against him sundry railing accusations in petitions presented to the General Court . . . and had . . . treated him in a manner inconsistent with truth, sincerity, brotherly kindness and charity recommended and enjoined in the gospel." The twelve brethren in writing very cogently argued that the church had no jurisdiction over a civil or political matter, and the church sustained them by a large majority.

Bacon obtained no satisfaction, but after some time reluctantly returned to his duties as deacon at the unanimous request of the church. This church record is one of much interest from the care and deliberation displayed as well as the action taken, which is good evidence that the community was not then (if ever) ruled by a theocracy.¹

Among some papers given in 1836 by the Rev. Dr. James Freeman to the Massachusetts Historical Society was a bundle containing depositions, petitions, and other documents relating to the case of Edward Bacon.² As these seemed to be the property of the Com-

¹ See appendix, no. 35. With the case of Deacon Edward Bacon may be compared that of Deacon Thomas Foster of the First Church in Plymouth. In the former case, the charges were brought by Deacon Bacon against certain of his brethren. In the latter case, the charges were brought against Deacon Foster by certain of his brethren. The charges came under four heads, the fourth as follows: "His Political Conduct & Practices are, we think, just matter of Offence, as therein he discovers a Willingness to have his Country enslaved — & is frequently found to be an Advocate for ye Destructive Doctrines of Passive Obedience & Non Resistance." The charges were discussed at various meetings from March 12, 1775, to July 17, 1776. On the last date, "It being urged, that he [Foster] looked upon the Brethren, who were opposite to him in political Sentiments, to be Rebels, & of Consequence deserving y^e Punishment of such; & he not denying or retracting his former Sentim^{ts} & declaring that he did not think it expedient to tell w^t his Thôts were on y^t head, — & not being willing to make any recantation, The Church Voted almost unanimously (20 Members present, all but 2 Voted) that they could not contentedly communicate with him at y^e Lords Table." Deacon Foster desiring further time "to think upon the affair" and a fuller meeting, "the Church readily consented that the meeting be adjourn^d for further time for mutual Deliberation, without proceeding to any formal Suspension of him from Communion." Deacon Foster died on January 23, 1777, before final action had been taken. See our Publications, xxii. 346-348, 349-352, 353.

² The donation was reported at the meeting in November, 1836. (1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, ii. 62.) At the meeting in April, 1837, Joseph Willard, the Recording Secretary, "Reported an abstract of the

monwealth, in 1879 they were turned over to the Secretary of State and are now in the Massachusetts Archives at the State House.¹ Among these papers is the original of a petition of Edward Bacon dated June 2, 1779, the date of his trial, praying for delay.² Also there are voluminous notes³ for a speech by Edward Bacon, but no record as to whether the address was made at his trial for which it was evidently prepared. There is also a curious manuscript⁴ signed by Edward Davis, May 28, 1779, who represented himself to Edward Bacon as an English spy and implicates him in a plot to carry off the principal liberty men on the Cape. Davis was apparently a patriot spy, and while his statements are very circumstantial other testimony is naturally preferred now, although it might have carried weight at the time.

How these papers came into the possession of the Rev. Dr. James Freeman has not been ascertained, nor is it known whether they had ever been consulted by the Rev. Frederick Freeman, author of the *History of Cape Cod*.⁵ It is certain, however, that if they were

late Dr. Freeman's papers" (ii. 80). This report is headed, "Memorandum of contents of Box of late Rev D^r Freeman, sent to the Soc after his decease — accord^d to directions in his life time." The portion pertinent to the present paper is as follows:

"30 A file consisting of petitions & depositions in the matter of Edward Bacon Esq of Barnstable — 1779 — as a member of the H Rep of Mass^{tts} — and against his holding his seat — being unfriendly to the Revolution (These are original documents belonging to office of Sec^y of State)."

I am indebted to Mr. Julius H. Tuttle for finding Joseph Willard's original report, which is referred to but not printed at ii. 80 note.

¹ At the meeting in June, 1879, the committee to which the Council had referred the papers in question reported that "there is so much probability that they all (with the exception of the draft of Mr. Bacon's speech), either are or should be the property of the Commonwealth," that it recommended a vote giving the papers to the Commonwealth, and accordingly such a vote was passed. (1 *Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society*, xvii. 117-118.)

The documents are printed in the appendix to this paper, nos. 9-12, 14-34.

² See appendix, no. 32; and cf. p. 276 note 2, above.

³ See appendix, no. 33.

⁴ See appendix, no. 31.

⁵ Dr. Freeman may have obtained the papers from one of his relatives, of whom at least four were members of the General Court that sat from May 27, 1778, to May 31, 1779. The Rev. Dr. James Freeman (1759-1835; H. C. 1777), who was born in Charlestown, was fifth in descent from Samuel Freeman (1638-1712), who was born in Watertown and removed to Eastham. (Freeman

known to Mr. Freeman he suppressed them in his History of Cape Cod, as he also concealed the names of tories who were disciplined

Genealogy, pp. 354, 356-357, 389, 405-406.) The Rev. Dr. James Freeman was also related to the Daniel Davis (1713-1799) who is so often mentioned in these documents. This was through the marriage of his sister, Lois Freeman, to Daniel Davis, Jr. (1762-1835), a son of Daniel Davis (1713-1799).

Barnabas Freeman (1737-1781), a representative from Eastham, was fourth in descent from the above Samuel Freeman (1638-1712). (Freeman Genealogy, pp. 366, 379-380.) Hence the Rev. Dr. James Freeman and Barnabas Freeman were second cousins once removed.

Samuel Freeman (1743-1831), a representative from Falmouth (now Portland), was fourth in descent from the above Samuel Freeman (1638-1712). (Freeman Genealogy, pp. 369, 383-386.) Barnabas Freeman and Samuel Freeman (1743-1831) were first cousins. This Samuel Freeman, besides being a representative, was clerk of the House and also Speaker *pro tempore*. One of the papers is signed by him in the latter capacity (see p. 265 note 3, above), and his name occurs in other documents.

Dr. (or Col.) Nathaniel Freeman (1741-1827), a representative from Sandwich, was fifth in descent from Edmund Freeman (*d* 1682). (Freeman Genealogy, pp. 72, 120-125.) It was he who informed the House on January 21, 1779, of the agreement that had been reached between Edward Bacon and his opponents: see p. 274 note 2, above.)

Solomon Freeman (1733-1808), a representative from Harwich, was fifth in descent from Edmund Freeman (*d* 1682). Solomon Freeman and Dr. Nathaniel Freeman were third cousins. (Freeman Genealogy, pp. 67, 112-113.) It was this Solomon Freeman who signed the depositions printed in the appendix, nos. 10, 29.

The Rev. Frederick Freeman was the son of Dr. Nathaniel Freeman (1741-1827). He was born in Sandwich December 1, 1799; was pastor of the Third Church in Plymouth from 1824 to 1833; later took orders in the Episcopal Church; was rector of St. David's Church in Manayunk (Philadelphia), and at Bangor and Augusta, Maine; and about 1844 returned to Sandwich, where he died September 12, 1883, as I am informed by the town clerk of Sandwich. He was the author of *Religious Liberty* (1834), *The Pastor's Plea for Sacred Psalmody*, *Yaradee* (1836), *A Plea for Africa* (1838), *Africa's Redemption the Salvation of our Country* (1852), *History of Cape Cod* (1858-1862), *Freeman Genealogy* (1875), and *Civilization and Barbarism* (1878), some of which (due to the fact that his name appears on the title-page merely as "F. Freeman") are not found under his name in catalogues. (Freeman Genealogy, pp. 120, 204-206.) In 1833 was published at Plymouth a pamphlet entitled "Abuse of Pastoral Influence. A Sketch of Mr. Freeman's Pastoral Intercourse with Mrs. Cotton, previous to the Formation of the Robinson Church in Plymouth — 1830, to which are added some Remarks." The lady was Phoebe Cotton (widow of Thomas Jackson Cotton), who on April 16, 1822, was dismissed from the First Church to the Third Church: see our Publications, xxiii. 573. There is no author's name on the title-page, but at the end the pamphlet is signed "Lemuel Stephens," who was a brother of Mrs. Cotton.

When his father died, the Rev. Frederick Freeman was twenty-eight years

in 1774 by an orderly assemblage known as the Body of the People.¹ Their proceedings were described by their principal leader, Dr. Nathaniel Freeman of Sandwich, afterward Colonel and Judge. This memoir² of Dr. Nathaniel Freeman's was in the possession of the Rev. Frederick Freeman, and probably perished in the Boston Fire with the manuscript of his History of Cape Cod. Edward Bacon was an associate Judge of the Common Pleas with Colonel James Otis as Chief Justice, and whose court was prevented from holding session at Barnstable by the Body of the People in 1774, and one is led to suspect from Freeman's account that Edward Bacon was one of those it sought to discipline.³ This inference is somewhat strengthened by the affidavit of Stephen Nye.⁴

It seems established that Edward Bacon was an active tory and a loyalist; his political skill was such that he maintained the support and confidence of the community, for it elected him to the State Constitutional Convention on July 22, 1779. Edward Bacon died in Barnstable in 1783 and his tombstone in the churchyard of the East Parish records the family view of his life as follows:

Here Lies interred the remains of Edward Bacon Esq. who having served his generation according to the will of God died greatly lamented March 16, 1783. Aged 68 yrs. He sustained sundry places of honor & profit and it may justly be said of him that he was one of great abilities, very free in conversation and always ready to help the needy. He is justly and truly lamented by all that knew him and was an ornamental. He must, therefore, even if he had not consulted the Bacon papers in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society from 1836 to 1879, have known about them.

¹ After this paper had been sent to the printers, Mr. Albert Matthews called my attention to some extracts which are of such interest that they are printed in the appendix: see no. 36, below.

² See Freeman, *History of Cape Cod*, i. 430-452. Freeman (ii. 424-429 notes) also quotes an account written by Abraham Holmes in 1834.

³ Like the other justices and militia officers, Edward Bacon was obliged to sign certain declarations: see pp. 341, 344, below. On September 28, 1774, the Body of the People "Voted, That the chairman ask the town clerk of Barnstable, present, whether that town has discovered its attachment to the cause of the country, by choosing a representative more disposed to serve the country than the late one" — that is, Edward Bacon. "The chairman called upon the clerk to reply, and was informed that they had elected Daniel Davis, Esq.; upon which the Body testified their approbation by giving three cheers" (Freeman, i. 443).

⁴ See appendix, no. 12.

ment to the church till his death. He was the obliging neighbor, the faithful friend, the pleasant companion, the indulgent master, the tender Father, the affectionate husband, and a friend to mankind in general.

APPENDIX

- 1 Samuel Adams to James Otis, March 19, 1773
- 2 Barnstable Town Records, October 12, 1774, January 4, 1775
- 3 Broadside, June 7, 1776
- 4 Protest of Joseph Otis and others, June 25, 1776
- 5 Protest of Joseph Otis and others, June 26, 1776
- 6 Letter of Sturgis Gorham, July 9, 1776
- 7 Letter of Joseph Otis, July 18, 1776
- 8 Letter of Sturgis Gorham, August 8, 1776
- 9 Petition of Joseph Otis and others, May 22, 1778
- 10 Deposition of Solomon Freeman, October 7, 1778
- 11 Deposition of Joseph Otis, October 9, 1778
- 12 Deposition of Stephen Nye, October 10, 1778
- 13 Barnstable Town Records, December 16, 1778
- 14 Deposition of James Hawes, January 5, 1779
- 15 Deposition of Nathaniel Lewis, January 5, 1776
- 16 Deposition of Ebenezer Lothrop and Joseph Annable, January 5, 1779
- 17 Deposition of William Taylor, January 5, 1779
- 18 Deposition of Jonathan Hallett, January 6, 1779
- 19 Deposition of Rowland Hallett, January 6, 1779
- 20 Deposition of Prince Bearse, January 6, 1779
- 21 Deposition of Elkanah Higgins, January 6, 1779
- 22 Petition of Daniel Davis and others, March 19, 1779
- 23 Deposition of Ebenezer Baker, April 1, 1779
- 24 Deposition of Thaddeus Brown, April 1, 1779
- 25 Deposition of Lot Crowell, April 1, 1779
- 26 Deposition of Thomas Gorham, April 1, 1779
- 27 Deposition of Nathaniel Howland, April 1, 1779
- 28 Deposition of Joseph Otis and Ebenezer Jenkins, April 1, 1779
- 29 Deposition of Solomon Freeman, April 2, 1779
- 30 Petition of Daniel Davis and others, May 20, 1779
- 31 Deposition of Edward Davis, May 28, 1779
- 32 Petition of Edward Bacon, June 2, 1779
- 33 Speech of Edward Bacon, June, 1779
- 34 Accounts of Ebenezer Jenkins, January 21, June 2, 1779
- 35 Records of the East Parish Congregational Church, Barnstable, June 22, August 2, 30, 1780
- 36 Confessions, Declarations, and Recantations, September-October, 1774

1

SAMUEL ADAMS TO JAMES OTIS, MARCH 19, 1773¹BOSTON, March 19th 1773

SIR

I have the honor of joining with my brethren the Committee of Correspondence for the town in a letter to you, which the bearer of this is charged with & will deliver to you.

The occasion is somewhat singular. Our Brother M^r William Molineux, a few days ago receiv'd an *anonymous* letter dated Barnstable &c, in which mention is made of some rude Aspersions cast upon the characters of himself and several others of our Committee by your Representative M^r Bacon in a public meeting in your Town. As the intelligence was thus uncertain the Committee would fain hope that it was impossible for one of M^r Bacon's station in life to act so unjustifiable a part; especially after the handsome things which he had the credit of saying of every one of the Committee upon a late occasion in the House of Representatives. Admitting however, that this might be the case, they thought it prudent to address you, as the Moderator of your meeting, and it is their desire, if you judge there is a proper foundation for this letter *and not otherwise*, to obtain the consent of the Town that it should be openly read in the meeting at the ensuing adjournment. This the Committee refer to your known discretion, as they cannot place a full dependence upon an anonymous letter, although there are some circumstances that may seem to corroborate it.

As there is no measure which tends more to disconcert the Designs of the enemies of the public liberty, than the raising Committees of Correspondence in the several towns throughout the Province, it is not to be wondered at that the whole strength of their opposition is aim'd against it. Whether M^r B. is of this character is a question in which his Constituents ought certainly to satisfy themselves beyond a reasonable doubt. A man's professions may be as he pleases; but I honestly confess I cannot easily believe him to be a sincere friend to his Country, who can upon any consideration be prevail'd upon to associate

¹ Writings of Samuel Adams, iii. 1-2. In a letter to James Warren of Plymouth dated January 10, 1775, Samuel Adams alludes to "the new-made Colonel, Justice Bacon" (1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xiii. 205). The following item, dated June 26, is taken from the Massachusetts Spy of July 1, 1773: "PROMOTED.] Edward Bacon, Esq; colonel of a regiment in the county of Barnstable" (p. 2/3). Cf. John Adams's Works, ii. 320.

The heading of each document, printed in small capitals, is not a part of the document, but has been inserted for convenience.

with so detestable an enemy to it as I take a *Boston born* (I cannot say educated) Commissioner of Customs to be.¹ . . .

P.S. If there is not foundation for what is asserted in the anonymous letter, we desire that you will not only not read our letter in your meeting, but also not let the original or a copy of it go out of your hands, but return it by the first opportunity.

2

BARNSTABLE TOWN RECORDS, OCTOBER 12, 1774, JANUARY 4, 1775

At a town meeting Legally warned and held at the west meeting house in Barnstable on the 12th day of Oct. A. D. 1774. The Hon'ble James Otis Esqr. was Chosen Moderator. The town Voted to Chose a Committee to Join with the Committee of other Towns in this County to Consult on measures to prevent Disorder in the same.

Voted That seven be Chosen by papers & four to make a Quorum -- Then were Chosen for the above purpose -- The Hon'ble James Otis Esq. Major Otis, Daniel Davis Esq. D't. Abnor Hersey Messrs. Eli Phinney, Joseph Hallett & George Lewis.

Voted That Said Committee be a Committee of Correspondence.

Voted Not to act with regard to Israel Butler's Legacy.

At a town meeting Legally warned & held at the west meeting house in Barnstable on the 4th day of *January A. D.* 1775, Col. Edward Bacon was Chosen Moderator.²

¹ The allusion is probably to Charles Paxton, who was born in Boston in 1708 and died in England in 1787 or 1788: see Boston Records, xxiv. 53; Musgrave's Obituary, iv. 370; Gentleman's Magazine, January, 1788, lviii. 83; Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, lvi. 343-352; Sabine, *American Loyalists*, ii. 153-155. In the last named work (ii. 474) there is a very brief notice of Edward Bacon. By the patriots, Charles Paxton was frequently alluded to as "Charles Froth."

² The records of this meeting were printed, with substantial accuracy, in the Boston News Letter of January 12, 1775, p. 2/2-3. That they were brought to Boston by Edward Bacon appears from the following extracts:

A correspondent observes, that nothing more plainly discovers the weakness of the cause of the Tories, than their great exultation at the blind imperfect exaggerated and unattested account of the late transactions of the town of Barnstable published in the anile Gazette of last Thursday — Like drowning men they catch at a straw. We have to say that good Mrs. Draper's account of the matter is very little to be depended upon, and even allowing it to be true, it amounts to very little — A certain Place-man of that Town put into Office as some Priests were of old, for a morsel of bread, has indeed been hard at work there for some time, and has posted thro' all the snow to the Capital, blowing like a Porpoise, to bring his own account of his own most

Then the town proceeded to the business agreeable to the warrant.

Voted Not to pay any Money into the hands of Harrison Gray¹ Esq. that was raised for the last province tax till further order of this town.

Voted Not to pay any money that was raised the Current year to Henry Gardner² Esq. till further order of this town.

Voted When the Assessors deliver the bills to the Constables for this year the Constables shall be directed not to Collect any of the province rate till further order of this town & the town will Endemnify Sd. Constables.

Voted That the Assessors make Return to Harrison Gray Esq. as usual.

Voted That the former Constables who have any money in their hands for a province tax which was made before March 1774 that they

important services, to them that hold the Bag—but time reveals the truth of all things; and when this shall appear, we believe the few insignificant Tories of Barnstable will hardly be able to save their B A C O N. (Boston Gazette, January 16, 1775, p. 3/2. "Good Mrs. Draper" was Margaret Draper, publisher of the Boston News Letter. Cf. Boston Gazette, January 30, p. 3/3.)

Last week a rare Flitch of B A C O N was sent by the tories of Barnstable to their *suffering brethren* in this town; good Mrs. Draper gave some imperfect account of this *first donation to the tories*; immediately upon its reception it was suspected to be *tainted*, and upon examination it was found to be *totally unsound*; the tories, however, such are the *straits* to which they have been reduced, fed deliciously upon it for several days together; . . . (Massachusetts Spy, January 26, 1775, p. 2/3. Cf. Boston News Letter, February 2, p. 3/3; Massachusetts Spy, February 9, p. 3/1.)

You may possibly have seen in the papers some *curious* resolves of the town of Barnstable, which were effected by one *Bacon*, a magistrate there, who procur'd one of the pamphlets written by Doctor Cooper of New York, which he read to the inhabitants and told them that Doctor Cooper of this town wrote it, and perswaded 'em likewise that all the Sons of Liberty here were falling off in the same manner. As soon as he had obtain'd the resolves, he hasted up to town with them, and carried immediately to the press, since which he has tarried here with other refugees. Last week, the town of Barnstable, convinc'd of their error, had a meeting and pass'd a number of resolves entirely abrogating all of the other that were in the least derogatory to the cause of freedom; and execrate the author of their deception. (Letters of John Andrews, January 29, 1775, in 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, viii. 398.)

The two Coopers alluded to in the last extract were the Rev. Dr. Myles Cooper (1735–1785), President of King's College (now Columbia University), and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Cooper (1725–1783; H. C. 1743) of Boston.

¹ For Harrison Gray, Treasurer and Receiver General of the Province from 1753 to 1775, see our Publications, xiv. 320–350.

² Henry Gardner (1730–1782; H. C. 1750) was chosen Receiver General by the first Provincial Congress on October 28, 1774 (see Journals Massachusetts Provincial Congress, p. 38).

shall keep the same in their hands till further order of this town & the town will Endemnify Sd. Constables.

The Question being put whether the town will *purchase any small arms for the Towns use and it passed in the Negative.*

The Question being put whether the town will provide *any further Supply of ammunition* but what is already provided & it *passed in the Negative.* (*In Respect of encourageing Minute men the town declined acting.*)

Voted to Chose a Committee of inspection to see that the association of the Continental Congress be Carried into execution so far as it respects Imports & Exports only they acting according to the Several times fixed in Sd. association.

Then were Chosen for the above purpose Col. James Otis, Col. Bacon, Esq. Davis, Esq. Marston, & Major Otis.

Voted to Refer the approbation of the County Congress's resolves to next March meeting.

The town *declined sending any person to the provencial Congress.*

3

BROADSIDE, JUNE 7, 1776¹

In the House of REPRESENTATIVES,

June 7th, 1776.

A RESOLVE of the late House of Representatives passed on the 10th of *May*, 1776, That the Inhabitants of each Town in this Colony ought in full Meeting warned for that Purpose, to advise the Person or Persons who should be chosen to represent them in the next General Court — Whether, should the honorable CONGRESS, for the Safety of the said Colonies, declare them Independent of the Kingdom of Great-Britain, they the said Inhabitants will solemnly engage, with their Lives and Fortunes, to support them in the Measure.

And whereas said Resolve, though published in the public News-Papers, yet it has since been manifest to the present House, that some Towns in the said Colony were not so seasonably favoured with the said Prints, as to have it in their Power to instruct their Representatives, agreeable to Advice in said Resolve (had they been so minded) so that the present General Assembly are unable to collect the Sentiments of many Towns in the said Colony, on so interesting and important a Subject. And as Towns who had seasonable Notice, have given their Representatives Instructions to comply fully with the late House aforesaid, whose Numbers, to the Honor of their Constituents, are very numerous; and as some of the United Colonies have of late, bravely refused to subject themselves to the Tyrannical Yoke of Great-Britain any longer, by declaring for Independance:

¹ Massachusetts Broadside, no. 1988 (Massachusetts Historical Collections, lxxv. 274).

Therefore, *Resolved*, as the Opinion of this House, That such Towns as have not complied with the Resolve aforesaid, whether they are represented or not, duly warn a Town-Meeting for such Purpose, as soon as may be, that their Sentiments may be fully known to this House, agreeable to the former Resolve of the late House of Representatives: And that One Hundred and Fifty Hand-Bills be forthwith Printed, and sent to such Towns, for the Purpose aforesaid.

By Order of the House,

J. WARREN, Speaker.

4

PROTEST OF JOSEPH OTIS AND OTHERS, JUNE 25, 1776¹

At a Town Meeting held at Barnstable, June 25, 1776

THE Question being put, agreeable to the Resolve of the General Court, — Whether if the Continental Congress should judge expedient to declare the United Colonies Independent, they the Inhabitants of the Town of *Barnstable* would support the Measure at the Hazard of Life and Estate? — It pass'd in the Negative.

Upon which a Number of respectable Inhabitants, whose Names are under written, judging such Procedure would have a Tendency to disunite the Colonies, and to injure the Cause of their Country, did at said Meeting, publicly *Protest* against it, hoping thereby to avoid the Imputation of Acquiescence in so dishonorable a Measure.

Thos. Annable ²	James Davis	Joseph Jenkins	Benj. Smith
Binna Baker	Job Howland	Eben. Lothrop	David Smith
Nathan Bassett	Nath Howland	Joseph Otis	Joseph Smith
John Crocker jun.	Zac's. Howland	Freeman Parker	

5

PROTEST OF JOSEPH OTIS AND OTHERS, JUNE 26, 1776³

Mr. EDES,

Please to give the following a Place in your Paper.

WE the subscribers, inhabitants of the town of *Barnstable*, protest against the proceedings of said town, at their meeting held on Tuesday 25th of June instant, respecting the giving their Representative instructions, with regard to the Independency of the

¹ Boston Gazette, July 8, 1776, p. 3/1.

² For the sake of convenience, the names attached to the protests and depositions are arranged alphabetically. The name of Joseph Otis heads this list.

³ Boston Gazette, July 29, 1776, p. 1/1.

Colonies, as it was recommended to the several towns in this colony, by way of resolve, from the Hon. House of Representatives: and as a vote was put in said meeting to know whether the town would proceed to give any instructions to their Representatives, agreeable to the aforesaid recommendation; *which was carried in the negative.* —

And judging it to be our duty to protest against said vote, we do it for the following reason — we think such a measure as propos'd in said resolve, to be the most salutary that can be gone into for the safety and well being of the Colonies, under our present opprest situation. — And as it is the duty of every individual to give his voice in favor of the aforesaid recommendation; in case the Hon. Continental Congress see cause to declare these Colonies entirely Independent: We are ready and willing to stand by such a declaration, (if it should take place) to the uttermost of our power, with our Lives and Estates — And being very unwilling that the aforesaid Vote should be past over in silence, for fear of offending our own consciences, in being thought to acquiesce in so strange a Vote of the town, and of offending our countrymen and brethren in other towns, who may go into contrary measures, entirely abhorring any principles, but what are for the good of the United Colonies of America, and detesting these arguments brought by some men in said meeting, to dissuade the people from complying with said recommendation; we take this method of letting the public know our dissent from the aforesaid proceedings of the town, having no other way to make our sentiments known. We request that this protest may be entered in the town book, to let posterity know that there were a few in this town who dared to stand forth in favor of an injured and oppressed country, treated with every species of wickedness used by tyranny to enslave mankind; and it is a matter of great grief to us, that the cause of Liberty is treated with such indignity by some of the inhabitants of the town of Barnstable.

Thomas Annable ¹	Jonathan Hallet	Cornelius Lovell
Binney Baker	Edmund Hawes	Joseph Otis
Nathan Bassett	Job Howland	Freeman Parker
John Blish	Nath Howland	John Russel
Charles Conant	Zacheus Howland	Benjamin Smith
Benoni Crocker	Joseph Jenkins	David Smith
John Crocker, Jun.	Ebenezer Lothrop	Joseph Smith
James Davis	Seth Lothrop	

BARNSTABLE, June 26th, 1776.

¹ The name of Joseph Otis heads the list.

6

LETTER OF STURGIS GORHAM, JULY 9, 1776¹

Messieurs PRINTERS,

Please to give the following a place in your next, and you will oblige a friend, and help to vindicate the injured.

IN the Watertown paper of last Monday,² I then being in Boston, had the mortification to see a piece most artfully dressed up in form of a protest, against the proceedings of the town of Barnstable, in a late meeting of their's, which was held to choose a representative, in the room of that (truly) honorable Gentleman lately admitted to the Board.³

These respectable Gentlemen, (as the protestors are pleased to call themselves) have endeavoured to make it appear, by *their* representation of the matter, that the town of Barnstable, in voting not to instruct their representative, did *positively give* their sentiments, as a town, against the measure of independency, even if the Congress should see fit to adopt it; and that they did thereby *absolutely refuse* to support such a determination, however necessary it may appear to the wisdom of the Continent. — The subscriber to this, being an inhabitant of the town of Barnstable, and present at the said meeting, humbly requests the candid public, that they would just for the present suspend their judgment of this matter, (which, as it has been represented, must appear in a most unfavourable light) until such time as an attested copy of the above-mentioned proceedings can be procured and made public; when he hopes it will appear, not that the late protest was designed as a malevolent aspersion of the town, but that the representation therein exhibited, has *not the truth* for its foundation; in the mean time, I am,

The respectable protestors humble servant,

STURGIS GORHAM.

Boston, July 9, 1776.

7

LETTER OF JOSEPH OTIS, JULY 18, 1776⁴

Mr. EDES,

BY Powars and Willis's paper of 11th July, I find an inhabitant of the town of Barnstable, greatly mortified at a piece in your paper, dressed up in form of a protest, and with a sneer at the persons whose

¹ New England Chronicle, July 11, 1776, p. 3/2.

² Boston Gazette, July 8, 1776: see no. 4.

³ Daniel Davis (1713–1799) on May 30, 1776, was made a Councillor: see House Journal, pp. 5, 7.

⁴ Boston Gazette, July 29, 1776, p. 1/2.

names were annexed to the account, "beging the candid public to suspend their judgment." Who dressed up the piece that gave him so much mortification, I pretend not to say — But surely he shewed but little address, in taxing the protesters against a proceeding of town meeting with "artfully misrepresenting" in an article of intelligence, and which he insinuates was a "malevolent aspersion of their town," when the protesters were to a man, unacquainted with the piece, until it appeared in your paper. — Nor has he the truth for his foundation, when he says the "protestors call themselves respectable gentlemen," for in truth the protesters have hitherto been silent, and the paragraph in your paper only stiles them "respectable inhabitants". — An unfortunate advocate for truth and candor this, to appear in the first part of his performance destitute of both — I pronounce the account of our Town meeting neither true or false, nor do I determine, *whether all circumstances considered, a negative upon the question of instructing, relative to independence, was a negative upon the question of Independence* — Tho' if the inference was natural, was unavoidable; the account of our Town-meeting in your paper "had the truth for its foundation" — But if the question was mistaken, or even "artfully" stated, I see not how the protesters are responsible — As a protestor, an inhabitant of Barnstable, and one at the meeting, I join issue with this "mortified" young man, state facts & leave the public to draw their inferences.

After it was debated largely, whether the town would give any Instructions to their Representatives, the question was put by yeas and nays, 30 appeared for Instructing, 35 against it: there was a long debate about declaring Independency, one said "It was down right rebellion;" another a staunch friend of Gov. Hutchinson said "Our trade was as free as if we were Independent," and these were violently against the motion: and such like *weighty arguments*, I suppose obtain'd a majority against instructing, of which number, *our quondam Captain under Governor Hutchinson was one* — The protesters I am sure for one, were far from rejoicing that the vote was carried as it was, and am as certain, they have no desire of aspersing the town, though if exculpating themselves, and stating facts "mortifies" a part of the town, and *our candid sneerer at the protestors amongst the rest*, I am little solicitous about that consequence — I have no wish to set the town *in a less reputable light*. It is my opinion, if a certain party had not by their boisterous, illeberal behavior, intimidated the major part not to act, (for of 140 voters at the meeting 65 only voted upon the question) the question would have been carried in favor of Instructing, and the town would have saved its credit *at least in this affair*.

The unprovoked attack upon me, and the protesters, has drawn me into the view of the public upon this occasion, supposing my silence would be deemed a tacit acknowledgment of wrong which its all my inducement to answer; for the sneers of a *little emissary of a desperate cabal* are as contemptible as *their* unremitting malice and abuse. Happy in conscious integrity, through the love of my country, and my efforts in her service, have opened upon me the throats of deep mouthed mastiffs, as well as occasioned the barking of lesser curs — This unprovoked attack, will I hope apologize for publishing the protest, as it was hastily drawn up; and submitting to the judgment of the *impartial publick*: I am their humble servant,

JOSEPH OTIS.

Barnstable, 18th July, 1776.

8

LETTER OF STURGIS GORHAM, AUGUST 8, 1776¹

Messieurs POWARS and WILLIS,

ACCORDING to my promise in a late paper of yours, I here present to public view an attested copy of that vote, which Mr. Otis, supported by his respectable adherents, had been pleased to represent in the most obnoxious point of light; together with the proceedings of another meeting, legally warned and properly held, in order to examine and fix the true meaning of their former vote, which was accordingly done; and of which transactions the following is a true copy.

At a town meeting, legally warned, and held at Barnstable, on the 25th day of June, A. D. 1776, Nymphas Marston, Esq; being chosen moderator, the town voted not to give an instruction to the representative with respect to independence.

A true copy from the record.

Attest. *Josiah Crocker*, Town-Clerk.

At a town meeting legally warned, and held at Barnstable, on the 23d day of July, A. D. 1776, to explain the vote of the town of the 25th of June last, respecting giving their representative instruction relative to independency — Nymphas Marston, Esq; moderator,

Voted, That this town in their meeting of the 25th of June last, the question being put, whether the town would instruct their representative with respect to independency, it passed in the negative.

Voted, That the true intent and meaning of the town was, that they would leave that matter to their representative when at the General Court.

Voted, That the piece published in the Watertown news-paper of July the 8th current, called a protest of a number of respectable inhabitants of the town of

¹ New England Chronicle, August 8, 1776, p. 2/1.

Barnstable, signed by Joseph Otis, Esq; and fourteen others, is a very wrong and injurious representation of the proceedings of the town of Barnstable.

True extract from the minutes. Attest.

JOSIAH CROCKER, Town Clerk.

Mr. Otis, I find, has since been pleas'd to give us some account of the debate, in one of these meetings. — One article was, that some body said he thought it "downright rebellion to declare independency" — another, that a certain gentleman (whom he means to point out) should say, that "our trade was as free as if we were independent" — these he seems to think, and arguments like these *frighted* the whole town, — at least a greater part of it, from voting what they ought to!

For my own part I don't recollect any such frightful argument; but if such were really the cause of our *supposed* unpatriotic proceedings, I should think that *cowardice* was not our least reproach!

Fortunately secure, — many of Mr. Otis's observations, or arguments or whatever he intended them for, are altogether, unintelligible, inexplicable, and consequently unanswerable: — But it's plain (especially from his new replenish'd protest) that he means to augment and confirm, those illiberal, abusive charges and insinuations, with which he had before stigmatized his native town, and that with equal imprudence, ingratitude, and falsehood.

As to that part of his cunning, which is level'd against myself — I equally disregard the abuse and it's author. — I know not what redress Mr. Otis expects from the public for the grievance he complains of, in bombostic stile of being assaulted by "deep mouth'd mostiffs, and bark'd at by little curs:" — But would advise him as a friend, if he desires to escape such a vexing evil, to divest himself of that obnoxious character, which is generally the cause of the misfortune he complains of, under that ingenious Simile; — 'till which his high pretensions to exalted patriotism, will do him no honor, but where his political conduct is happily less known, than it is to the respectable inhabitants of his much abused town, Barnstable, the just right of which and of his country shall ever be defended by their friend and humble servant,

STURGIS GORHAM.

9

PETITION OF JOSEPH OTIS AND OTHERS, MAY 22, 1778¹

To the Honourable House of Representatives for the State of Massachusetts Bay —

The Petition of a Number of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Barnstable humbly sheweth that whereas a Majority

¹ Massachusetts Archives, ccxxii. 502a-b.

of a Meeting, though not a Majority of the Town voted Edward Bacon Esq^r their Representative by which a Man uniformly & openly as well as invariably an Abetter of Bernard & Hutchinsons wicked Measures, an avowed Opposer of Congresses Colonial & Continental & a professed Enemy to the Independency of America, is got into power at a Season the most critical this or any Country ever knew, and appears the Representative of this Town, wherefore as in Duty bound to your Honors ourselves & the glorious Cause of Liberty, we your Petitioners take this Method in the most publick & explicit Manner to enter our protest against a Representation by the said Edward Bacon Esq^r being a Man unfriendly to the common Cause, of arbitrary & dangerous principles, and intreat your Honors to take effectual Measures to exclude the said Edward Bacon from the publick Councils for ever & as in Duty bound shall ever pray

Ebenezer Bacon ¹	Nathaniel Crocker	Joseph Jenkins
Binney Baker	Benjamin Goodspeed	Nathaniel Jenkins
Nathan Bassett	Rufus Goodspeed	Zacheus Jenkins
Churchill Blossom	Micah Hamlen	Jedediah Jones
Peter Blossom	Nathaniel Hinckley 3 ^d	Timothy Jones
Asa Conant	Ansell Howland	Benjamin Lovell
Cha ^s Conant	Job Howland	Joseph Otis
Edmond Crocker	Nath ^{el} Howland	Isaiah Parker
Benjamin Crocker	Zac ^s Howland	Benjamin Smith
Edw ^d Crocker	Ebeneze Jenkins	

BARNSTABLE 22^d May 1778

In the House of Representatives Oct. 14th 1778 This Petition was read — & The House assigned the second Wednesday of the next Session for hearing the Petitioners in support of their Petition and the said Bacon in his Defence thereof — and Orderd That the Clerk serve the Parties with a Copy of this Order & Mr Bacon with a Copy of this Petition

Att. SAM^l FREEMAN Clerk²

[Endorsed]

Petition from Joseph Otis of Barnstable Oct. 1778 2^d Wed^y

¹ The name of Joseph Otis heads the list.

² The following is from the Massachusetts Archives, ccxxii. 503:

In the House of Representatives June 1, 1779

To William Hickling of Boston and his Wife — Greeting

You are hereby required forthwith to make your appearance before the House of Representatives to give evidence of what you know relative to the subject matter of a Petition of a number of Inhabitants of the Town of Barnstable against Edward Bacon Esq Representative of that Town

Hereof you are not to fail

By Order of the House of Representatives

SAM^{ll} FREEMAN Clerk

10

DEPOSITION OF SOLOMON FREEMAN, OCTOBER 7, 1778¹

I Solomon Freeman of Harwich in the County of Barnstable of Lawful age do Hereby testify & say That in the month of Nov^r 1774 I was at the House of Edward Bacon Esq^r at Barnstable and he the Said Bacon in Conversation told me He did not Like The asociation of the Continental Congress it was a Bad thing & it woul never do & Said he would Draw another asociation himself & Send it Down to Harwich in order to get a Number There To Sign it or words to that purpose. But I have Reason to Believe that Esq^r Bacon was soon after made Better acquainted with my political Carecter which was the Reason of my hearing no more of His Asociation & further Saith not.

SOLO^N FREEMAN

Barnstable ss. On the 7th Day of October A. D. 1778 Personally appeared Solomon Freeman Esqr abovena^d and made Oath to the above written by him subscribed before me.

THOMAS PAINE Justice of the Peace

[Endorsed]

Soloⁿ Freemans Deposition

11

DEPOSITION OF JOSEPH OTIS, OCTOBER 9, 1778²

Joseph Otis of Barnstable, in the County of Barnstable Esq^r Testifieth; and Saith, That being at a Town Meeting in Said Town, to Choose a Member for Provincial Congress; I heard Edward Bacon Esq^r Say, that the time Would Soon Come, the Kings Standard Would be sett up and I took it he meant the King of England's Standard, When we (The People) Would be Glad to Come With trembling hands, and aching hearts, Which Was Uttered With a threatening voice, and Menacing Posture. At another Town Meeting Since the Battle of Lexington, I heard Said Bacon Say, he did not Understand paying Taxes to two Bodyes, the Congress & State, that he Meant to Comply with Congress, So far as to Leave a hole to Creep out at, this Last was also Said in Publick Town Meeting When he was Argueing against the Opposition made to great Britain in their Present Tyrannical System, Which has Always been his practice at all Publick Meetings of the Town, to Oppose the Measures Recommend^d Either by the Congress or General Court of this State; I have also in Publick heard him Say, the Measures against Britain was Wrong, that we Ought to Petition, that he Said he wished

¹ Massachusetts Archives, ccxxii. 507a.

² Id. ccxxii. 512a-c.

he was Invested with power, he could make peace, that he Could Settle the matter by Petitioning, and has always Invariably and Steadily been of that principle, to the best of my Observation. has in my Opinion by his Actions been at the head of the Opposition, to the measures of these States in this Town, and County. have good Reason to think that he Recommend^d a Stranger,¹ who told him he Came from General Pigott, by Giving the Names of Two men to him, Who have Always been Stiled, and have Acted, as those people Called Tories, Which Names I saw in Writing & am Positive they were hand Writing of Said Bacon.

Also further Say when this Town was Wrote to by the Committee of Correspondence of Boston, to Correspond With them, we had a town Meeting, and Said Bacon Expressed himself in the following manner which I Immediately Committed to Writing, that Some of Said Committee were the Vilest of men, that it was Scandalous to Correspond With them, and on being checked for the Aspersion (by Some one) he made an Apology with Regard to my Brother,² and Particularized Mr Mollineaux³ Mr Dennie⁴ & Dr Young⁵ as men of very bad Characters (as near as I can Remember), Intimating one was an Atheist, one Never Went to Meeting, and the Other was Incontinent, but Said Some of the Committee might be good men, he did not know them all, and Strenuously Opposed Chuseing a Committee which by his Influence was Carried in the Negative, also he Opposed in town Meeting in Jan^y 1775 the paying the town Tax to Henry Gardner Esq^r which Money I think is Still Unpaid and is in the hands of the Collector, also at the Same Meeting Said Bacon Opposed the Purchasing of Arms, Ammunition, and the Encouraging of Minute Men.

Also Said Bacon, in Town Meeting Violently Opposed Sending any Member to the Provincial Congress, which by his Influence was Carried in the Negative, at another time Said Bacon in Town Meeting, Strongly Opposed the town's Voting for Indepency.

¹ See no. 31.

² James Otis the Patriot.

³ William Molineux (1718-1774): see Nellie Z. R. Molyneux, *History Genealogical and Biographical of the Molyneux Family* (1904), pp. 167, 169-174. He died October 22, 1774, a longish obituary notice being in the *Boston Gazette* of October 24, 1774, p. 3/2.

⁴ William Dennie (1726-1783): see H. M. Ellis, *Joseph Dennie and his Circle* (*Bulletin of the University of Texas*, no. 40, July 15, 1915), pp. 10-12.

⁵ For a memoir of Dr. Thomas Young (1731-1777), see our *Publications*, xi. 2-54. Dr. Young left Boston for Newport, R. I., on September 13, 1774 (xi. 36 and note).

And it is my firm belief, that Said Edward Bacon Esq^r has been the principal Means of Keeping An Opposition to the Measures of the United States for years back to this day, and According to my best Observation has taken Unwearied Pains in Said Opposition, in this Town and County Which has Caused us Much Trouble and Difficulty.

JOSEPH OTIS

BARNSTABLE October 9th 1778.

Barnstable ss: on y^e 1st Day of April A D 1779 Personally appeared the before-named Joseph Otis Esq^r and being carefully Examined and duly Cautioned to Testifie the whole Truth and nothing but the Truth made solemn Oath to the Truth of y^e foregoing Deposition by him Subscribed taken at the request of Hon. Daniel Davis Esq^r & others Petitioners against Edward Bacon Esq^r in Support of s^d Petition to be used in y^e House of Representatives, the Deponent living & being more than Thirty miles from the Place of Trial is y^e Cause of taking this Deposition the s^d Edw^d Bacon Esq^r was notified but did not attend before me

SOLOMON FREEMAN
Justice Peace for the County of Barnstable

12

DEPOSITION OF STEPHEN NYE, OCTOBER 10, 1778¹

I Stephen Nye of Sandwich in y^e County of Barnstable testifie and declare that I was a member of y^e House of Representatives in the year 1774 at the Time that we Chose members for a Congress & Governor Gage dissolved y^e Court, Edward Bacon Esq^r then a member came to me as soon as y^e Court was dissolved and Said you are all distracted you have done that which will ruin y^e Continent in Choosing a Congress if the other Colonies should do as we have done we shall be ruined & undone; if we had petitiond we should have had what ever we wanted, but in this way, says he you have undone your selves you may depend upon it. I f[urther] Say that the s^d Edward Bacon always appeared to while I was a member of Court with him to be a great friend to Hutchinsons & Bernards arbitrary measures & always joind to defend their proceedings in every thing that was brought before the House while I was present. I also declare that I saw the s^d Edw^d Bacon at Sandwich in the year 1775 who sent for People to come in & see him at y^e House of M^r Fessendens, & told them in my hearing that these Congresses have undone the Country if we go on in that way with Congresses y^e Country will be ruined y^e only way is to petition if there was a petition now & I could go home with it I'd risk my Life I could have everything as y^e People desire said he was in a hurry then but

¹ Massachusetts Archives, cexxii. 516c-f.

would set a time when he would come back & desired y^e People might be got together and he would Spend a night & a Day with them to Convince them the way they was going on would ruin y^e Country seemd to very earnest to have y^e People meet for if he could see them, He knew he could convince them of their Error — I also declare that I verily believe that the s^d Edw^d Bacons influence hath been y^e principal Cause of all y^e opposition that hath been made against y^e measures of y^e Country in this County as he hath always been at the Head of y^e Tory Faction in this County hath always sustained the Charracter since y^e Contest with Great Brittain, of a high Tory and an inveterate Enemy to this Country, in this County, and that this is y^e Character he still Sustains according to my best knowledge & Judgement — and I further declare that it gives very great uneasiness to People in General this way who are friendly to the Country that such [a per]son is returnd a member of y^e House of Repre[sen]tatives. Particularly I remember after Governor Hutchinson had his Salary from Home it was tried to get a vote in y^e House of Representatives to repair y^e Province House for him which y^e s^d Bacon endeavoured to procure and came to me and told me if I would vote for it he would warrant me any Commission I should desire. I told him I was against it & did not want a Commission. He said if I would go with him to y^e Gov^{rs} He could convince me it was reasonable, and if I would be for it And did not Choose to have a Commission myself I should have one for any friend I wanted to Oblige and further at present dont recollect

STEPHEN NYE

SANDWICH October 10th 1778

Barnstable ss: 10th Octob. 1778 personally appeard Stephen Nye Subscriber of y^e above Declaration & being examined & Duly Cautiond to testifie the truth & nothing but y^e truth made Solemn Oath that the aboves^d Declaration is the truth — taken at the desire of Micah Hamblin Esq^r to be used in the House of Representatives in support of a Petition against Edw^d Bacon Esq^r the Deponent living more than 30 miles from y^e place where the s^d House of Representatives Sit is the Cause of the taking this Deposition, & the s^d Edw^d Bacon being in Boston & more than 30 miles from y^e place of Caption was not notified nor present. before me

SETH FREEMAN Ju^s peace

Barnstable ss: April 6, 1779 The above named Stephen Nye Personally appearing and being duly examined & cautiond to testifie y^e truth & nothing but the truth made Solemn Oath to y^e truth of y^e foregoing Deposition by him subscribed taken at y^e request of Joseph Otis Esq^r & others Petitioners to y^e Honorable House of Representatives against Edw^d Bacon Esq^r to be used in Support of s^d petition the Deponant living more yⁿ 30 miles from y^e place of trial is y^e Cause of taking this Deposition, adverse party notified, but not present

SETH FREEMAN Jus^t Peace

The within Deposition of M^r Stephen Nye taken at y^e request of Micah Hamblin Esq^r to be used in the House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts Bay was taken & sworn to the 10th Day of October A D 1778 before me y^e Subscriber and Seald up at the same Time by me Also April 6, 1779 taken a new & Seald up by me

SETH FREEMAN Jus peace

[Endorsed]

Stephen Nye not to be read

13

BARNSTABLE TOWN RECORDS, DECEMBER 16, 1778

At a Town meeting legally warned at Barnstable at the East meeting on ye 16th day of December A. D. 1778 Nymphas Marston Esq. was chosen Moderator — then the Town proceeded to the business agreeable to the warrant.

Voted to act on the request of a Number of Freeholders relative to a petition exhibited to the general court against Edward Bacon Esq. representative of this Town.

Voted to chuse a Committee to draw up some votes relative to the above Sd request.

Voted to have three on Sd Committee, then were chosen Capt. Samuel Crocker, Lieut. Joseph Blish and Mr. Joseph Hallett for the above Said purpose. The above Sd Committee reported and the town voted to accept of their report, and the town Clerk was directed to record the same and give their Representatives a copy thereof attested in order for them to lay the same before the Honorable house of Representatives. They reported as follows:

At a town meeting legally warned and held at Barnstable on the 16th day December A. D. 1778 the town taking up the subject matter of an attested copy of a paper purporting a remonstrance and petition against Edward Bacon Esq. addressed to the Honorable House of Representatives praying, he the said Edward Bacon Esq. may be excluded from the public Councils for ever to which paper is affixed the Names of Joseph Otis Esq. and twenty eight others after fully hearing all parties and duly and maturely considering the same that we are of opinion that the following votes ought to be passed thereon.

Voted first that it is the opinion of Committee that the said paper contains the most unjustifiable and injurious reflections not only on the political character of Edward Bacon Esq. but on the loyal inhabitants of the town of Barnstable.

Voted second it appears to this Committee that the said Edward Bacon Esq. was elected to represent said town in as fair, free and full a

manner as is usual in this, or can possibly be in any other, town in the State and in as full a town meeting as is common on such occasions he having a large majority of the suffrages of the people present at said meeting.

Voted third that if we had imagined that the said Edward Bacon Esq. deserved the approbious character given him in said paper we should have been much readier to have prosecuted him on the law of this State as an enemy to his Country then to have elected him as our Representative.

Voted fourth that it appears to this Committee that the several charges contained in said paper proceeded rather from an old family quarrel and was the effect of envy rather than matters of truth and sobriety or any view to the public good.

Voted 5th that it appears to this Committee that the said petition was very unjustly and surreptitiously obtained.

Voted that it does not appear to this Committee that from the beginning of the present war to this day there has been any backwardness but on the Contrary the said Edward Bacon Esq. has appeared as forward for raising men and money for the purposes of raising men for public services as any other person in town and many times more so if possible when the public demand has been very urgent. Voted seventh that it is the opinion of the Committee that the subject matter in said petition contained is a malicious and injurious libel on the political character of the said Edward Bacon Esq. and calculated meerly to stir up strife, animosity and discord in this town and County and if possible totally to destroy his usefulness in the same, and therefore humbly pray the Honorable House of Representatives to dismiss the same as groundless scandalous and vexatious —

SAMUEL CROCKER,	} Committee. ¹
JOSEPH BLISH, JR.,	
JOSEPH HALLETT,	

14

DEPOSITION OF JAMES HAWES, JANUARY 5, 1779 ²

BARNSTABLE January 5th 1779

I James Hawes of lawfull age Testify and Say That being Several times in Company Where Edward Bacon Esq^r of Barnstable was Since the Batle at Lexington) have heard Said Edward Bacon Esq^r in Con-

¹ Cf. Freeman, History of Cape Cod, ii. 316-318.

² Massachusetts Archives, ccxxii. 508b-c.

version approve of the measures (in Generall) which Great Britain was then acting against the now vnited States and very much Disapprove of the opposition which Said States were then Making against Great Britain. Q. have you heard him talk in this manner since y^e Declaration of independence? Answer I believe it is near two year since Eq^r Bacon & I have had any Political Conversation.

JAMES HAWES

Sworn

Barnstable ss: Jan^y 5. 1779 The within named James Hawes personally appeared & being Examined & duly caution'd to testifie the Truth y^e whole Truth & nothing but y^e Truth made Solemn Oath to the Truth of y^e within Deposition by him subscribed taken at y^e request of Joseph Otis Eq^r & others to be in the House of Representatives in Support of a Petition against Edward Bacon Esq^r the sd Deponent living more than thirty miles from y^e place of Trial is y^e Cause of taking this Deposition Adverse Party Notified & present before us

DANIEL DAVIS	} Justices of y ^e Peace for y ^e County of Barnstable
NATH ^l FREEMAN	

[Endorsed]
read

15

DEPOSITION OF NATHANIEL LEWIS, JANUARY 5, 1779¹

I Nath^l Lewiss of Barnstable in the County of Barnstable shipwright of Lawfull Age to give Evidence Testifie & declare that Since these Times took place I have Generally attended Town meetings from first to last when they was about choosing a member in this Town for Provincial Congress Esq^r Bacon opposed it & talk'd near half an Hour upon it — spoke against the measures that was taken it could not be for y^e Good of the Country — I remember the meeting in the Court House I think it some time last Spring. He Esq^r Bacon was one that was not for drafting the men, was for hiring them — but the men was neither hired or drafted the men were never raised.

I was coming by his House one Day Just in y^e Evening when y^e news came about our fleet in the Lakes being defeated, a person was telling y^e news that some of our fleet was taken or defeated, s^d Bacon said that there was quite enough of them left it was no matter, as near as I can remember the expression, meaning as I then took it in way of rejoicing, I thought that He acted upon principle that He thought that Brittish troops was in the right, & that we were a disobedient People and ought to be punish'd — Q do you remember hearing him say he gloried in the Name

¹ Massachusetts Archives, ccxxii. 509a-b.

of a Tory?¹ no I dont remember it, He always appear'd to resent being call'd a Tory, for that meant an Enemy to his Country & he thought that bore too hard upon him — Q. whether his General Conduct hath been that of opposing the measures taken by y^e Country for its defence? A. I always thought he did not look upon the measures of the Country to be right & therefore Acted against them upon Principle Q. according to your own observation & Judgement can you upon Oath say that His General Conduct has been in opposition to the measures taken for the defence of y^e Country? A. I know of his appearing against a provincial Congress & y^e Confederation in Town meeting.

NATHANIEL LEWIS

BARNSTABLE Jan^y 5. 1779.

SWORN

Barnstable Jan^y 5th 1779 Personally appeared the within Named Nath^l Lewiss and being carefully Examined & cautioned to Testifie the truth y^e whole Truth & nothing but the Truth made Solemn Oath to the Truth of the within Deposition by him subscribed taken at the request of Joseph Otis Esq^r & others to be used in the House of Representatives and support of a Petition against Edward Bacon Esq^r the s^d Deponent living more than thirty Miles from the Place of Trial was the Cause of taking this Deposition the Adverse Party was Notified & present before us

DANIEL DAVIS	} Justices of y ^e Peace for y ^e County of Barnstable
NATH ^l FREEMAN	

[Endorsed]

Nath^l Lewis read

16

DEPOSITION OF EBENEZER LOTHROP AND JOSEPH ANNABLE,
JANUARY 5, 1779 ²

We the Subscribers of Lawful age to give Evidence do testify, and say, that on January 1775³ at a Town Meeting at the West end of Town for the purpos of chusing a Man to go to the provincial Congress, and to raise money to buy arms, and aminition, Esqr. Bacon was chose Moderator, he the said Esqr. Bacon asked liberty of the Town to express

¹ On March 30, 1780, a committee was appointed by the First Church, Plymouth, to discourse with a certain member, "endeavouring to bring him to a Sense of his Sin & Duty; he having absented for more than a twelve Month, both from Meeting & from y^e Ordinance of y^e Supper — upon no other Reason (as he inform^d y^e other Comittee) than because the people of y^e Town in general treated him with Contempt — calling him a Tory &c" (our Publications, xxii. 355).

² Massachusetts Archives, cccxii. 508a.

³ Perhaps "1776," but if so it should be "1775."

his mind, and went on to say; that instead of raising money to buy arms & aminition, & chusing a Man to go to the Congress, we had better petition to the King while he was far of; for the Time was coming when he would set up his Standard, & we should fly to it with Trembling hands; & aking hearts, to sign your doom.

EBENEZ^R LOTHROP
JOSEPH ANNABLE

Jan^y 5, 1779 Barnstable ss The above named Eben^r Lothrop & Joseph Annable Personally appead & made oath to y^e truth of y^e above Deposition by them subscribed Adverse party notified & present before

NATH^L FREEMAN Jus Pac.

[Endorsed]

Eben^r Lothrop & Joseph Annable

17

DEPOSITION OF WILLIAM TAYLOR, JANUARY 5, 1779¹

William Taylor of Barnstable in y^e County of Barnstable yeoman gives the following Deposition viz

Question was asked by the Petitioners Whether you ever Heard Edw^d Bacon Esq^r oppose choosing a Member for the Provincial Congress in Town meeting? A. Yes. Q. What reasons did He give? According to the best of my remembrance He said we should soon be bro^t with trembling Hands & aking Hearts to subscribe to the Kings Standard Q. Dont you remember He opposed the raising minnute men? A. at some meetings I thought he seemd to Contrive about the best methods of raising the men and at other Times Seemd to be backward about it. At a meeting adjourned from y^e Court House to y^e meet^g House there were a Number of men ordered by the Court to be raisd & there was a penalty upon the selectmen if they did not raise them. He opposed the raising men at that meeting strongly. Q. Dont you remember that He proposed to y^e Town to indemnifie y^e Selectmen if they did not raise them? A I remember there was such talk in y^e meeting but dont particularly remember that s^d Bacon said So. Q. How long ago was this meeting? A. I think it was last June. Q. dont you remember that Capt Jenkins desired some directions of y^e Town How to proceed when y^e Time come that the men must be raisd and Esq^r Marston said He Jenkins was so fond to raise them He wishd the Town would appoint Him to raise the whole that Esq^r Bacon Said that the s^d Jenkins had been forward to raise men yet now y^e weight was got in tother scale? dont re-

¹ Massachusetts Archives, cccxii. 510a-c.

member y^e perticular expressions but that Bacon & Marston & that party made violent opposition to y^e raising y^e men — Q. Whether when a Recommendation from the Provincial Congress for pay y^e money to Henry Gardener Esq^r came to Town that Bacon opposed it violently? Answer Yes.

Q. did you ever Heard Esq^r Bacon say any thing against the independence of America? A. Yes — the run of his discourse pretty much was that it would undo y^e Country & we never should obtain it & that the Country would be better with out it Q. please to relate that Conversation you had with s^d E Bacon Esq^r at the Time of Falmouth Alarm about last September?¹ I Joind him in y^e morning to go to South Sea to get Bread out of a Vessel for y^e Soldiers & He & I rode up together it was natural to talk of Politicks at such a time when y^e Enemy were burning & destroying & we fell into discourse I said to s^d Bacon I was sorry they had not made us these Generous offers one year sooner (meaning y^e Commissioners offers &c) for the war would have been over by then. He answered me in this way if I remember Right, that if these offers had been made then they would not have accepted of it and if they were to offered us independence they would not accept of it for they were a parcel of Tyrants and what they aimed at was Posts of Honor & proffit. Q. who did you Suppose He had reference to when He said Tyrants? A. I supposd He meant y^e Congress I could not suppose He meant anybody else for He was Speaking of the offers the Commissioners had made the Congress. Q. Has not Esq^r Bacons General Conduct been that of opposing the opposition by the Country to Great Britain according to your best Observation & Judgement? A. I think it has.

The s^d Taylor further Says that in the Time of y^e afore s^d Alarm The s^d Esq^r Bacon showed himself forw^d in promising y^e Bread out of y^e Vessel & procuring a cart & forwarding it to the Troops at Falmouth

WILLIAM TAYLOR.

BARNSTABLE Jan^y 5 1779

¹ On this occasion Edward Bacon, Jr., came out, his service being thus described: "Private, Capt. George Lewis's co., Col. Freeman's regt.; marched on an alarm at Bedford, Dartmouth, and Falmouth, Sept. 6, 1778; service 5 days" (Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolution, i. 410). There is no allusion to this alarm in "A Statement of some of the Principal Facts, which took place in the Revolutionary War, in and about the County of Barnstable, on Cape Cod," an eight-page leaflet printed in 1831. But accounts will be found in the Boston Gazette, September 7 (p. 3/1), 14 (p. 3/2); Independent Chronicle, September 10 (p. 3/2), 17 (p. 3/2); Independent Ledger, September 14 (p. 3/1), 21 (p. 3/2); D. Ricketson, History of New Bedford (1858), pp. 73, 278-299.

Barnstable ss: Jan^y 5th 1779 The above named William Taylor Personally appeared and being duly Caution'd to tell the Truth the whole Truth & nothing but the Truth made Solemn Oath to the Truth of y^e above Deposition by him Subscribed taken at the request of Joseph Otis Esq^r & others Petitioners to the Honorable House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts Bay against Edward Bacon Esq^r to be used before s^d House in Support of s^d Petition, the s^d Deponent living more than Thirty Miles from the place of Trial is y^e Cause of taking y^e sd Deposition and the Adverse party was notified & present at y^e Cap-
tion before us

DANIEL DAVIS	} Justices of y ^e Peace for y ^e County of Barnstable
N FREEMAN	

sworn

[Endorsed]

Cap^t W^m Taylor read

18

DEPOSITION OF JONATHAN HALLETT, JANUARY 6, 1779¹

Jonathan Hallet of Barnstable in the County of Barnstable Testifies & says — I bought a cask of melosses of him about two year ago this fall of Edw^d Bacon Eq^r I come to pay him off for the melosses there was a thirty Dollar Bill there was some dispute about its being a Counterfeit Bill. Esq^r Bacon said it made no odds whether it was Counterfeit or not or did not know as it made any odds or not so I paid him the money & he took y^e money. Q. did he give any reason why there was no odds or say anything further about the paper money? There was a considerable deal of talk but dont remember y^e particular words.

JONATHAN HALLET

BARNSTABLE Jan^y 6, 1779

19

DEPOSITION OF ROWLAND HALLETT, JANUARY 6, 1779²

Rowland Hallet of Barnstable in y^e County of Barnstable Testifies & says, that He can remember but little about it was so long ago. there was something said about y^e Bill mentioned in the bove deposition I think it Esq^r Bacon askd if it was counterfeit. but however the s^d Bacon said it made no odds whether it was Counterfeit or not & so took the Bill is all that I can remember about it about two years ago this last month as near as I can remember. Further say not.

ROWLAND HALLET

BARNSTABLE Jan^y 6, 1779

¹ Massachusetts Archives, ccxxii. 511a.

² Id. ccxxii. 511a.

20

DEPOSITION OF PRINCE BEARSE, JANUARY 6, 1779¹

Prince Bears of Barnstable in y^e County of Barnstable testifies & says that He was present at the Time above. Something was said about the Hardness of the Times — I think M^r Jon^a Hallet said He did not see but the Times was as good as ever they was — He could pay his debts & live as well as He used to — the Company was making observation or Complaint. How much money it took to buy this melasses Esq^r Bacon makes reply & said we need to be thankfull we was not obliged to Carry our money about in Corn Baskets — Further Say not.

BARNSTABLE Jan^y 6. 1779.

PRINCE BEARS

Barnstable ss: Jan^y 6, 1779 The above and within Nam[ed] Prince Bears Jonathan & Rowland Hallet Severally Per[so]nally appeared & being Cautioned to testifie the Truth th[e] whole Truth & nothing but the Truth Severally made Sole[mn] oath the the above & within Depositions by them respecti[vely] subscribed taken at the request of Joseph Otis Esq^r & others Petitioners to the Honorable House of Representatives [of] the State of Massachusetts Bay to be used before said Hous[e] in support of s^d Petition against Edward Bacon Esq^r the Deponents living more than Thirty miles from y^e Place of Trial was y^e Cause of taking s^d Depositions the Adverse party Notified but not present, before us

DANIEL DAVIS } Justice of y^e Peace
NATH^l FREEMAN } y^e County of Barnstable

[Endorsed]

Prince Bears Jon^a Hallet Rowl^d Hallet
read

21

DEPOSITION OF ELKANAH HIGGINS, JANUARY 6, 1779²

I Elkanah Higgins of Eastham in the County of Barnstab^{le} of Lawful age do Hereby Testify & Say that on the Last of Decem^r 1776 or first of Janu^y 1777 I was at the Dwelling House of Edward Bacon Esq^r at Barnstable & he the said Bacon Enquired of me what the people had Done at Eastham Concerning Lord Hows proclamation and Said Bacon further Said Lord Hows proclamation ought to be heard too or Took into Consideration and the Said Bacon Further Said if the County (or Country) did nothing he Should Think they were Stupid & further Saith not.

ELKANAH HIGGINS

¹ Massachusetts Archives, cccxii. 511a-b.

² Id. cccxii. 507a. Id. cccxii. 507b reads:

To the Hon^{le} the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts State The Deposition of Brig^r Otis & others Taken and Seal^d up By me

SOLOMON FREEMAN

Justice Peace for the County of Barnstable

Barnstable ss on the 6th day of Janu^r 1779 Then the above Named Elkannah Higgins personally Apeard & Being Cautioned To Tesfied the whole Truth made Solemn oath to the Truth of the above Deposition By him Subscribed according to the Best of His memmory taken at the Request of Joseph Otis Esq^r & others to be used in the House of Representative in Support of a petition against Edward Bacon Esq^r & sd deponants Living more than 30 miles miles from the place of trial is the is the Cause of Taking this Deposion & the Said Edward Bacon Living more than twenty miles from the place of Caption was not Notified nor present Before me

SOLO^N FREEMAN

Justice peace for s^d County of Barnstable

[Endorsed]

Elkanah Higgins Deposition

22

PETITION OF DANIEL DAVIS AND OTHERS, MARCH 19, 1779¹

To the Hon^{ble} the House of Representatives for the State of the Massachusetts Bay

The Petition of a Number of the Inhabitants of the Town of Barnstable Humbly Sheweth

That at the Session of the Hon^{ble} Court in October last, there was a Petition exhibited to your Honours; by Joseph Otis Esq^r and a Number of the Inhabitants of this town; against Edward Bacon Esq^r chosen last May, by a Majority of a Town Meeting to represent this Town; at the General Court of this State, which petition your Honours Sustained, and Ordered the Petitioners to appear at Boston in January last Before the General Court, to Enforce said petition against said Edward Bacon Esq^r, which they did; and set forth in their petition, that said Edward Bacon Esq^r was a person Unfriendly to the United States of America; and a person of Dangerous Principles &c; and praying your Honours to dismiss him from the Publick Councils of this State; as may appear at large by said Petition; and the said Edward Bacon Esq^r at the Sessions of the Hon^{ble} Court in said January Last, asked leave of your Honours to resign his Seat as a Member of Court; which your Honours are Sensible was Granted him, and a precept was Ordered to this Town to choose a Member in his Room; to represent them for the remaining part of this year; since which, the said Edward Bacon Esq^r has been reelected by a Majority of a Town Meeting met for the purposes aforesaid; and as the Objections are Still the same against the said Edward Bacon Esq^r as set forth in the former petition against him herewith Enclosed we in Conjunction with said petitioners most humbly Beseech your Honours

¹ Massachusetts Archives, ccxxii. 504d-f.

to give said Joseph Otis Esq^r us, and Others a hearing on said petition, and their Evidences, and others now ready to be produced against said Edward Bacon Esq^r so that he may be Excluded from a Seat, in the House of representatives aforesaid; if said Charges are true; or Otherwise to take the matter up in such way as your Honours in your Wisdom shall think best; This we do not from any Sinister views or private prejudice, but from a sence of duty; to the Cause and Interest of our Beloved Country; that her publick Councils may not be Embarrassed; by designing Inimical persons; who with so much Earnestness endeavour to push themselves into power, and Least that Confidence in the Legislature; which is Necessary to the well being of the Community; should be Lessened by the Admission of persons, who have Openly opposed the Cause of our Country — and your petitioners as in duty Bound shall ever pray &c

Andrew Allen ¹	Jonathan Davis Jur	Nath ¹ Jenkins J ^r
Andrew Allen J ^r	Eli Fuller	Zacc. Jenkins
Nath ¹ Allin	Zacc. Fuller	Jedediah Jones
Joseph Annable	Lot Gage	Nye Jones
Benjamin Baker	Benj ⁿ Goodspeed	David Lewes Jur
Ebenezer Baker	Lewis Gorham	George Lewis
Samuell Baker	Prince Gorham	John Lewis
Daniel Basset	Silvanus Gorham	Josiah Lewis
Nathan Bassett	Thomas Gorham	Nathaniel Lewis
Churchill Blossom	John Gray	Benjamin Lothrop
Joshua Bramhall	Jonathan Hallet	Ebenezer Lothrop
Seth Carsley	Rowland Hallett	John Lothrop
Ebenezer Claghorn	Micah Hamblin	Nathanael Lothrop
Benjamin Cobb	Adino Hinckley	Seth Lothrop
Eleazer Cobb	Nath ¹ Hinckley	Jacob Louell
Ebenezer Colman	Elisha Holmes	Benj ^a Lovil
James Colman	Thomas Homer	Cornel. Lovil
James Colman J ^r	Barn ^s Howes	Cornel. Lovil J ^r
Asa Conant	Ansil Howland	William Lovil
Samuel Cottle	Job Howland	Jonathan Lumbert
Barn ^a Crocker	Nath ¹ Howland	James Otis
Edw ^d Crocker	Zacc. Howland	John Otis J ^r
Nath ¹ Crocker	Ebenz ^r Jenkins	Joseph Otis
William Crocker	Jo ^s Jenkins	Solomon Otis
Daniel Davis	Nath ¹ Jenkins	Isaiah Parker

¹ The name of Daniel Davis heads the list.

Timothy Phenev	Jethro Thacher	Anthony Thatcher
Benj ^a Smith	John Thacher	Elisha Thatcher
Joseph Smith	John Thacher Juner	Edward Lloyd Whittemore
William Sturgis		

BARNSTABLE March 19th 1779

[Endorsed]

The Petition of Daniel Davis Esq^r & 84 others against Edw^d Bacon Esq^r

23

DEPOSITION OF EBENEZER BAKER, APRIL 1, 1779¹

I Ebenezer Baker of Barnstable in y^e County of Barnstable Declare that sometime in March A D 1777 in y^e Evening after a Town meeting at the House of M^{rs} Chipman inholder in sd Barnstable — being in Company with Edw^d Bacon Esq^r and divers othir persons belonging to s^d Town after conversing of the meeting & how it was Caryied on He said we have got into a poor way of fighting He said he reckoned it would be best to except of the Howes Proclamations, I askd him what he meant by Howes Proclamations — he says, did you never see any of them I told him no — he said I have one of thim in my House now if you come that way I'll show it to you — Said if there was a petition Drawd & he could go with it He would pawn his Life he would settle y^e Peace upon good Terms I further Declare that it is my Opinion that it is by the s^d Bacons influence there are so many Tories in this County that He appears to be pretty much at y^e Head of them and I always Supposed by his Conversation & conduct that He was upon the Kings Side of y^e Question and that He is Still & I verily believe if it was in his Power He would set up a Kings Government yet

EBENEZER BAKER

Barnstable ss on the 1st day of April 1779 the within named Ebenezer Baker personally apeared & Being Examined & duly Cautioned to Testify the Truth & Nothing but the truth made Solemn oath to the truth of the Within Deposition By him subscrib^d taken at the Request of the Hono^{le} Daniel Davis Esq^r & others petitioners to the House of Representatives against Edward Bacon Esq^r to be used in s^d House of Representatives in support of said petition the said Deponant Living more than thirty miles from the place of Holding Said Court or House of Representatives was the Cause of taking this Declaration & the said Bacon was Notified But Did not attend Before me

SOLOMON FREEMAN

Justice Peace for the County of Barnstable

[Endorsed]

Eben^r Baker

¹ Massachusetts Archives, ccxxii. 514a-b.

DEPOSITION OF THADDEUS BROWN, APRIL 1, 1779¹

I. Thaddeus Brown of Barnstable in y^e County of Barnstable Testifie and declare, that some time Since the present War with Great Brittain I heard Edw^d Bacon of s^d Barnstable Esq^r say that He could not fight in this War for it was against his Conscience to take up Arms against the King; I can't recollect particularly every thing He said at that Time, nor y^e particular Time; but according to my best remembrance it was at the House of M^r Thomas Homer & a considerable Number of Persons Present, and He was talking against our Prosecuting the War against the King. I also declare that the winter before this last at the House of M^r Cornelius Crocker in s^d Barnstable I heard y^e S^d Bacon say (upon its being mentiond that John Adams was gone to France by some of the Company) that the Congress had been sending an Interest to France ever since the war begun, had been making a great Interest there, and He said He believed the Congress would all be Glad to Flee there by & by. That Hancock & Adams had not spoke to one another for six weeks before He went away. He said they had got a great Interest in France and Adams was gone there already & He believed they would all be Glad to go there yet. And I further say that I always took the s^d Bacon to be inimical to the Country the above is according to my best remembrance

THAD^{ES} BROWNApril 1st 1779.

Barnstable ss on the 1st day of April 1779 the above Named Thadius Brown personally apeared & Being Examined & duly Cautioned to Testify the truth and nothing But the Truth made Solemn oath to the truth of the above Declaration by him Subscrib^d Taken at the Request of the Hono^{le} Daniel Davis Esq^r & others petitioners to the House of Representatives against Edward Bacon Esq^r to Be used in Said house of Representatives in Support of Said petition the Said Deponant Living more than thirty miles from the place of the Setting of s^d house of Representatives was the Cause of taking this Declaration and the Said Bacon was Notified But did not attend before me

SOLOMON FREEMAN

Justice Peace for the County of Barnstable

[Endorsed]

Thad. Brown

DEPOSITION OF LOT CROWELL, APRIL 1, 1779²

I Lot Crowel of Yarmouth in the County of Barnstable Captain of a Military Company in s^d Town, Testifie that a year or more ago I cant

¹ Massachusetts Archives, ccxxii. 514c.² Id. ccxxii. 515a-c.

be Certain as to the Time, as I was passing by Col. Edward Bacons of Barnstable the s^d Bacon called to me and desired that I would call at his House as I came back; I told him I would. Accordingly as I came back to call at his House, Just before I got to the Gate I saw the s^d Col. Bacon & his Son Edw^d Bacon Jun^r talking together at the Gate or near it. The s^d Edw^d Bacon Jun^r came up to me, and according to my best Judgment within hearing of his Father the s^d Edw^d Bacon Jun^r told me He wanted I should go back to his House with him and He would give me the Howes Proclamation's, which He has got He thought was reasonable and ought to be Complied with, He would have me take them and Publish among the People, I understood him He had given out Sundry of them among the People, and He wanted they Should be Spread abroad & published

He gave me two of them one Dated at Staten Island the 14th of July A D 1776 the other Dated New York Sept^r 19th 1776, both signd *Howe W. Howe*.¹ I went then to the sd Col. Bacon's, and saw there Thomas Gorham & another Person I cant recollect who, who were disputing with y^e s^d Col. Bacon about the Public disputes between the Colonies & Great Brittain. Bacon seemd to hold that we was wrong in beginning this war — I cant remember every thing He Said the s^d Col. Bacon had no Business with me; But I thought then & still think, that He wanted to give me those Proclamations; and to talk with me about them, but I Supposed the Company present prevented it. Since that He has been at my House and said that we was not right in beginning this war, I told him we did not begin it. He said we did, because we did not Petition as we ought and send over Agents & dimand our rights which if we had done, they would not have dared to have refused, and if they had He would have fought to his knees in Blood. He said we should be undone this way in a few years time.

Our Children would be Slaves for we should be more Tyrannized over by the People Here, our Neighbours than ever we was by Lord North. He said He was a Tory but not an Enemy to his Country. Said we had not plannd Matters right, we should never have come to the Sword if we had, or begun the war. He said He was determined not to go to Fight; but if they Landed & come to destroy his House, He did not know what He should do. I told him we had engaged in the war & could not go back. He said Yes we could it was not too late we could make up the matter now. the above is according to the best of my remembrance as near as I can recollect.

LOT CROWELL

¹ Lord Howe and Sir William Howe. Their declaration of September 19 was printed in the Boston Gazette of October 21, 1776, p. 2/1.

Barnstable ss on the 1st-day of April 1779 the afore named Lot Crowel personally appear^d and Being Examined and duly Cautioned to Testify the truth & Nothing But the truth made Solemn oath to the truth of the before going Declaration by him Subscribed taken at the Request of the Hon^{le} Daniel Davis Esq^r and others petitioners to the House of Representatives against Edward Bacon Esq^r to Be used in the House of Representatives in Suppor of said petition the S^d Deponant Living more than thirty miles from the place of Holding Said Court or House of Representatives was the Cause of Taking this Declaration and the Said Bacon was Notified But Did not attend Before me

SOLOMON FREEMAN

Justice Peace for the County of Barnstable

[Endorsed]

Lot Crowel Deposition

26

DEPOSITION OF THOMAS GORHAM, APRIL 1, 1779¹

I Thomas Gorham of Barnstable in the County of Barnstable Testifie and declare, that I have heard Edward Bacon Esq^r say several Times, that we was wrong in contending with Great Brittain — For if they was to blame we was more so than they was; for our Petitions that we had sent Howe was not Legal was not Signd by the Governor — He said we was wrong in destroying the Tea at Boston — I told Esq^r Bacon I was not Capable of talking about them things — that I could not see Just as He did — there were three Quarters of the Country and the Congress for resisting them — S^d Bacon replied there was Hancock & Adams Adams was worth but little if his Debts was paid and it was for his interest to contend with them in this way in order to get a Living — He Signified Hancock had got low in y^e world too and it was for his Interest likewise — Esq^r Bacon said He reckoned we was wrong & we should be subdued He could not be willing to resist them, viz Great Brittain — for he reckoned we was wrong and we should be overcome and it would be worse for us — He Said if we made out to Support our independence it would be worse for us — for there was Holland it was more difficult for them than if they had not revolted

He said he reckoned it would be better for us, and He had rather, be at the Mercy of the People tother side of the water & Lord North than of the People of this Country for after the Congress had answered their Ends they would use us as bad if not worse, and He reckoned we had better Submit to them, and make as good Terms as we could with them, He reckoned it would be better for us,

He Said He had rather have a master Three Thousand miles off than here so near to us This Conversation above I have heard Several Times, the first was about two years ago & Several Times since

¹ Massachusetts Archives, cccxii. 515d-f.

That Seemd to be his general Talk pretty much I have heard him talk so since the declaration of independance and for that reason I said to him that He had better not Speak his mind So freely about it, discouraging them that was a mind to go into the Service as People was so generally for resisting them, He had better let them go that were a mind to and them that was not to Say but little about it — He Said he reckoned it was his Duty to discourage them if He thought it was wrong and He always said from first to last that He did not think as others did. He should be willing to Contend with them if we was right in taking the measures we had against them but He did not but this last was before the declaration of independence But I have heard him talk as before mentioned within a year or fifteen months since the Alliance with France, and I have heard Him say the French would be of no service to us, they was not to be trusted, they was not to be depended upon as the People in England was, He Said England had Established Popery in Canada and our People found fault with it, and now they allowed them to come to Boston¹ & He reckoned there was danger of the French being a Dammage to our religion and I have heard him talk in this manner since He was chosen a member of Court in last May. I further declare that I frequently attend & vote in Town meetings and it always appeard to me that He generally opposed the measures taken by the Country for its defence; but like enough He thought He was right. I have heard him Say that the Congress was not willing that the Common People should know the best Terms the Howes (speaking of their Proclamations) offered us. I also Say that I am so intimately acquainted with the s^d Esq^r Bacon as I live near him & am often in Company with Him and have had a long acquaintance with Him, that I have not the least doubt of his being y^e Person I have had this Conversation with, notwithstanding I am Blind, no more than if I had seen him, as I know Persons I have been acquainted with heretofore as soon as I hear them speak as quick as I used to by Sight.

and I further Say that I have heard the said Bacon say He believed That y^e Congress had it in their Hearts for several years past to Quarrel with Great Brittain in order to help themselves & their families and there was no dependence upon them. He said he reckoned we had better choose some Body to go & treat with the Howes for y^e Congress would not let us know the right of their offers.

his
THOMAS + GORHAM
mark

BARNSTABLE April 1 1779

¹ See "The French at Boston during the Revolution" (Proceedings Bostonian Society, x. 9-75).

Barnstable ss: on the 1st Day April A D 1779 Personally Appeared the above named Thomas Gorham and being carefully Examined and duly Cautioned to testifie the whole truth and Nothing but the Truth made Solemn Oath to the Truth of the foregoing Deposition by him Subscribed, taken at the request of y^e Hon^{ble} Daniel Davis Esq^r and others Petitioners against Edw^d Bacon Esq^r to be used in the House of Representatives in Support of s^d Petition. the Deponent living & being more than Thirty Miles from y^e Place of Trial is y^e Cause of taking this Deposition the s^d Edw^d Bacon Notified but did not attend, before me

SOLOMON FREEMAN

Justice Peace for the County of Barnstable

[Endorsed]

Tho^s Gorham

27

DEPOSITION OF NATHANIEL HOWLAND, APRIL 1, 1779¹

I Nath^l Howland of Barnstable in y^e County of Barnstable Testifie and declare that sometime in march or beginning of April AD 1777 I cant be certain which in the Evening after a Town meeting at the House of M^{rs} Elisabeth Chipman in s^d Barnstable being in Company with Edw^d Bacon Esq^r Capt. Eben^r Baker & divers other persons belonging to sd Town I heard the said Edward Bacon say we have got into a poor way of fighting, He reckoned it would be best to accept of Howes Proclamations He said to Capt. Baker did you never see any of them Baker told him no; Bacon says I have got one of them at my House if you will call I will show it to you — And asked me if I had seen them. I told him I had seen enough of them & did not want to see any more of them. He s^d Bacon said if there was a petition drawed & He could go with it He would pawn his Life He would settle the Peace upon good Terms. I further declare that it is my Opinion that it is by the s^d Bacons means there is so many Tories in this County, that He appears to be pretty much at the Head of them & I always supposed by his Conversation & Conduct that He was upon the Kings Side of the Question & that He is still & I verily believe if it was in his Power He would set up a Kings Government yet I have Several Times since those Public disputes heard him threaten the Kings Standard would be soon set up, and we should all be Glad to repair to it. Also when the s^d Edw^d Bacon was taken & brought before the Honorable Daniel Davis Esq^r Brigd^r Otis & Col. Freeman, I heard the s^d Bacon Say when He first come up, that now we will see who & who is of a side and I understood by some People present He had been down to the other end of y^e Town to muster all the Tories He could.

NATH^{EL} HOWLAND

BARNSTABLE April 1. 1779

¹ Massachusetts Archives, ccxxii. 516a-b.

Barnstable ss on the 1st day of april 1779 the within Named Nath¹ Howland personally appear^d & Being Examined & duly Cautioned to Testify the truth and Nothing but y^e Truth made Solemn oath to the truth of the within Decaration By him Subscribed Taken at the Request of the Hon^{le} Daniel Davis Esq^r & others petitioners to the House of Representatives against Edward Bacon Esq^r to Be used in the s^d House of Representatives in Support of Said petition the said Deponant Living more than thirty miles from the place of Holding Said Court & House of Representatives was the Cause of taking this Deposition & the said Bacon was Notified But did not attend. Before me

[Endorsed]
N Howland

SOLOMON FREEMAN
Justice Peace for the County of Barnstable

28

DEPOSITION OF JOSEPH OTIS AND EBENEZER JENKINS,
APRIL 1, 1779¹

We² Joseph Otis Esq^r and Eben^r Jenkins both of Barnstable, in the County of Barnstable, Testife, and declare, that in January last when we attended the House of Representatives in support of a petition against Edward Bacon Esq^r of the same Town, and then there Representative, a little after the Honorable House had adjourned the Trial of the said Edward Bacon Esq^r to the third day of February in Order for some Depositions to be taken over again — Col^o Nath¹¹ Freeman of Sandwich then one of the Representatives of that Town mentioned to us that the s^d Edw^d Bacon Esq^r had desired him to let us know, that he would Consent to the s^d Depositions being admitted and have the Trial then come on if we was willing, and that he desired to Speak with us about it as soon as he could have an Oppourtunity, and that the s^d Col^o Freeman advised us to have the Trial come on then as he thought, he said that it would be best for both parties. Accordingly we saw and Convers'd with the said Edward Bacon upon the Subject after that, divers times, before we could agree to the Trials coming on them; the dispute between us was whether the Depositions should be Considered as ex parte Evidences or not, which the s^d Bacon was for, and we against — but we finally agreed for ye papers to be admitted and the Trial to come on the then next Wednesday or as soon after as might be as near as we can remember. But after this the said Bacon made several Applications to us and proposed to us for us to put of the Trial again untill the third day of February or to a longer time, in Order that we might all go home, and make peace in the Town — which the said Edward Bacon

¹ Massachusetts Archives, ccxxii. 513a-g.

² The top of the sheet is marked "N^o 1."

said he could easily do — and that he could still all the Difficulties in Barnstable relative to the Militia, and that would throw up the thoughts of an Independant Regiment; and urged very hard that we should Settle all Disputes and make friends. He also urged us to withdraw the petition & not prosecute it any further, this he talk'd with us about severall Times, and at one time he proposed it when several members of the County were together at the Golden Ball; we all along Declined it and told him we, was sorry we were under an Obligation from a Sense of duty to prosecute it against him; but we could not see it Consistent with our duty to withdraw it — nor to put it off, till the third of February — but we asked the Opinion of the members present what they advised to who generally said they could not see clear to advise to the Measures — upon which we told the s^d Col^o Bacon that we should not Consent to it by any means, but that if he would resign his seat we did not want to prosecute the petition against him — But he said he had Rather run his chance to be expelled than to do that; and was Determined not to resign unless the House turn'd him out, let the Consequence be what it would, this was the Night before the Trial was to come on: and we parted having Determined and agreed on both sides to go to Trial the then next morning and went to our Several Lodgings

Next morning as we came in upon exchange floor and were going up in Order to Support the petition on the Hearing it being the time of Day assigned by the House for that Purpose, we met the said Bacon on the Exchange floor, and likewise Col^o Freeman whom I the said Otis parted with but a Minute or two before in y^e Clerks office where he had been with me the said Otis the s^d Bacon proposed to us the Necessity of Going home and Making peace; instead of raking up all we could; against each other, and desired Col^o Freeman to ask the Question or to talk with us upon the matter, the said Freeman spoke at a Little Distance from the said Bacon and said he would not advise us one way or the other, but that the s^d Bacon had thoughts of Resigning in case we would engage not to petition again in case of his y^e Said Bacon's reelection, the said Freeman told us to act our own principles and he was easy he would not advise us either way, we Signified to the s^d Freeman that it would not do to make any such promises. Freeman says you had better be together when you talk & Determine soon for y^e House was waiting — upon this the said Bacon & we the s^d Deponants and Col^o Freeman stood all together and no Body else present and Col^o Freeman then put to us the Following Questions — Viz^t in Case Col^o Bacon will resign his Seat will you Consent to withdraw your petition against him and engage not to Petition against him in case he is re-

elected, Upon which we Answered to this purpose that we petitioned upon principles and could make no such Agreement, for tho we did wish to hurt him; yet if he was chosen again and we Lookd upon him Inimical to the Country as we now did, we must Certainly think it would be our duty to Petition again as much as we did before. the said Bacon was very urgent upon which Col^o Freeman then asked us if the said Bacon resign'd his Seat and was not chose till Another year, whether we would withdraw our petition and engage not to petition again, to which we replied that we could make no such promises. for so long as we viewed him as an Enemy to his Country we must petition in Case he was chose the s^d Bacon said whatever he had been heretofore he was now Determined to be a friend to his Country, and that in three Weeks time after he got home he could Convince us all that he was as good a friend to his Country as any in it — and that if he could not do that he would never attempt to come to the General Court again, and he further said he would warrant that in three Weeks time after he got home he would make peace in the Town of Barnstable, and all things easy and he would engage the Militia should be peaceably organized in the regiment, upon which the said Otis replied and said to the said Bacon, You cant Kill them Crockers Sam & Nell¹ if you was to die, the s^d Bacon replied and said he knew they was the two worst or most noisy, but he would engage to still them & all the rest; only Col^o Freeman must Condescend to divide Cap^t Lothrop's Company, to which the said Freeman said there would be no Difficulty as to Dividing the Company if they desire it with a Design to Belong to the regiment. The said Bacon then said I will tell you what I will do then I will resign my Seat without your Promising not to petition again; in Case you will withdraw your Petition; and there shall be a new precept go to² Barnstable only it shall be Lodged three Weeks in Col^o Freemans hand, before the Selectmen have it, in which time I shall either convince you all that I am a friend to my Country; and you will have no Objection to me or we shall peaceably agree about chosing a member, and if not we will then try to agree to something else — To this I the said Jenkins said I did not know that we could withdraw the Petition with Honour to ourselves or Justice to the House and feared We should be blamed by the House for Smuggling the matter — Col^o Freeman said that he thought if Col^o Bacon resign'd his Seat first as all we had petitioned for was to prevent his having a Seat if he prevented it himself by resigning he

¹ Samuel Crocker (b 1732) and his brother Cornelius Crocker (b 1740): see A. Otis, *Barnstable Families*, i. 223 ff.

² The second sheet of paper, marked "N^o 2," begins with this word.

thought there could be no Objection by y^e House or any Body else, especially as we had reserved Liberty to petition again in Case of his being reelected, and thought we had better consent to upon this I the said Otis told the said Bacon I would not withdraw the petition unless he would engage to still all y^e Difficulty's in Wellfleet & Barnstable too, so as to have no more Difficulty in the Brigade, To this the said Bacon said I will engage to and you may depend upon it, and I will withdraw the petition for an Independant regiment only Col^o Freeman shall not Lay y^e Officers memorial with his papers Before the Council nor prosecute any of those of Cap^t Lothrop's Company who did not appear at y^e Muster for their Fines. s^d Freeman said he would not till y^e said Bacon had been home and had Oppourtunity to make peace, nor till he had been home himself, and when he Freeman came home if the Disaffected in Capt Lothrops Company desired it upon application to him, if it was not Disagreeable to the Officers which he presumed it would not he would make such Division & either Lead them to a New choice or petition Council y^e Officers which they had chosen should be Commissioned, as he was willing to do what he could to Oblige them in Case they peaceably Join'd the Regiment; and he told Col^o Bacon he must enter upon this Business of making peace in that Company as soon as he got home, which the said Bacon s^d he would do, We also declare that Both parties agreed to this, and this was the whole of y^e Agreement that we knew any thing about, nor was there a word mentioned at this time of any person to be appointed or to resign any Office or Commission, nor have we any reason to think from any thing we see or heard all the time we was in Boston, that there was any such Agreement, we suppos'd if Col^o Bacon acted the part he promis'd that It would be a means of restoring peace, and that there would probably be further attempts by some future Consultation to make other matters as easy as they could upon Honourable principles be done; and we also testify that we and Col^o Bacon agreed that Col^o Freeman should go into y^e House and give the Information of what we had Concluded upon (and we agreed to it If it was agreeable to the House); while Col^o Bacon was in y^e House and we in the Galleries, which was done Accordingly: the Foregoing is the Truth as near as we can remember — Except I the said Jenkins dont Particularly remember about what Relates to Cap^t Lothrops Companyes being divided and What Said Otis said to Bacon about Sam^l Crocker and Nell and Bacons Reply to Said Otis upon that

JOSEPH OTIS

EBENEZER JENKINS

BARNSTABLE April 1. 1779

Barnstable ss: on the 1st of April A D 1779 Personally Appeared Joseph Otis Esq^r and Ebenezer Jenkins before Named and being carefully Examined & duly Cautioned to Testifie the whole Truth & nothing but the Truth made solemn Oath to the Truth of the foregoing Deposition by them subscribed and Containd on two sheets¹ of Paper No 1 & No 2. taken at the request of the Hon^{ble} Daniel Davis Esq^r & others Petitioners against Edw^d Bacon Esq^r to be used in support of s^d Petition in the House of Representatives The Deponents living & being more than Thirty miles from the Place of Trial is the Cause of the taking this Deposition and the s^d Edw^d Bacon Esq^r was notified but did not attend before me

SOLOMON FREEMAN

Jus^e peace for the County of Barnstable

[Endorsed]

Brigad^r Otis & Cap^t Jenkins

29

DEPOSITION OF SOLOMON FREEMAN, APRIL 2, 1779 ²

I Solomon Freeman of Harwich in the County of Barnstable Esq^r Testifie and say, that some time in Jan^y last while I attended the House of representatives as a member, and while y^e Petition of Joseph Otis Esq^r & Others Against Edw^d Bacon Esq^r was depending, after the House had put off y^e Trial, of the s^d Edw^d Bacon Esq^r to y^e 3^d of y^e then next Feb^y in order for some Depositions to be taken over again; the s^d Edw^d Bacon frequently desired me to attend at a meeting of the members of the County to see if we could not agree upon some Plans to restore Peace in y^e County (which however according to my Judgement then & now Generally prevails in y^e County except in the Town of Barnstable) I accordingly met the members who attended several Times at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern & at the Golden Ball in Boston at which meetings, in order to talk Freely and know one anothers opinion & expectations it was agreed that nothing which was there said in the Course of, such Consultations should be considered as obligatory or to be taken any Advantage of or be claimed as making any concessions, both by the said Edw^d Bacon Esq^r and other Members. The said Edw^d Bacon Esq^r proposed that if some of the old Civil Officers were re appointed it would be for the Peace of y^e County Which no one contradicted as I remember, The s^d Bacon mentioned several, some of which were agreeable & others were objected to — Doct^r Smith and David Thatcher were mentioned I remember Col. Freeman said that He was willing the s^d Smith should be appointed as a Justice of y^e Peace, if it was agreeable, and to take place of him on the Pleas, or to be at the Head of the Pleas

¹ See pp. 315 note 2, 317 note 2, above.

² Massachusetts Archives, ccxxii. 517a-c.

in Case the Honorable Daniel Davis Esq^r did not accept, and the s^d Thatcher He was desirous should be appointed, to these I heard no objection but thought would be agreeable, only I dont remember that the s^d Bacon appeared to be so forward about the s^d Thatcher. I remember that Col. Gorham and Nymphas Marston Esq^r were mentioned and were objected to their being Appointed, particularly by Col. Freeman Joseph Nye Esq^r and I think others, the s^d Col. Freeman ment^d particularly as to Col. Gorham that He had lately lied so like the Devil He did not think him fit for a Justice, tho the s^d Freeman said He had been in favor of him Heretofore. I dont remember that any Body proposed the reappointment of the s^d Edw^d Bacon Esq^r nor did I think any Body had any notion of it, I think I heard the said Bacon say He did not want any Office but I cant be so certain as to that he said so. The s^d Bacon nor any one else, did not in my Hearing propose the resignation of any Officer in y^e County but own'd Col. Freeman had made large sacrifices of his interest in favour of his Country and I thought that the s^d Bacon appeared to be Satisfied with the s^d Freemans offices. Barnabas Freeman was also proposed & no objection to it Some other new ones were talk'd of, but nothing in all these meetings was agreed or Concluded upon, as we apprehended it necessary before we come to any determination respecting it to have further Consultation with others in the County, but all Seemd disposed to make things as easy as we could upon Honorable terms. I dont remember any thing said at these meetings about the Petition of Joseph Otis Esq^r & others against the s^d Bacon Esq^r, as that was not the Business of those meetings, except the last meeting we had, which was at y^e Golden Ball the evening before the Trial was to come [on the sd. Otis & Jenkins being present together with the s^d Bacon, they went into a room by themselves after which the s^d Bacon came out and said they could agree upon nothing the Petitioners was cruel the Question was asked the members (I think by the s^d Otis) whether they would advise to putting off the Trial to a longer Time as the s^d Bacon had proposed, to which the members did not incline to advise but thought the Trial had better come on then.

Soon after this we broke up and the Petitioners and y^e s^d Bacon concluded their negociation and agreed to go to Trial y^e next morning, Esq^r Greenough told me after I came out & we walkd together to our Lodgings, that the Petitioners would not take up with any thing short of Bacons resignation, which Bacon would not do and they must come to trial the next morning in Spight of Fate. I heard the s^d Col. Freeman in the Course of Free Conversation say that He had thought's of moving out of y^e County, and that he had thought of resigning his Military

Commission, but He was determind to do neither till he had got y^e regiment and things in y^e County pretty peaceably Settled and the opposition over and till He had had one regiment at muster But this was nothing proposed by others nor mentioned as any Terms of accommodation

SOLOMON FREEMAN

BARNSTABLE April 2, 1779

Sworn to before N. FREEMAN Jus. Pac.

[Endorsed]

Sol Freeman

30

PETITION OF DANIEL DAVIS AND OTHERS, MAY 20, 1779¹

To the Honourable the House of Representatives for the state of Massachusetts Bay.

The petition of us the Subscribers Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the town of Barnstable Humbly Sheweth that your Hon^{rs} petitioners with a Number of other Inhabitants of Said town presented a petition to the Late Hon^{ble} House of Representatives of this State against Edward Bacon Esq^r who was Chose to Represent this town in the General Court Last year, which petition was Sustained by Said House, and the petitioners ordered to Attend and prosecute the same which they did, and Said Edward Bacon Esq^r for Reasons best Known to himself, Resigned his Seat in Said house, before he came to a trial with Said petitioners, on which there was a precept ordered to Said town, to Elect a Member, in said Edw^d Bacon Esq. Room, and Said town Reelected Said Edward Bacon Esq^r again to Serve the Remainder of Last year in the General Court of this State and your former petitioners with others prepared a Second petition to lay before the said house with their Evidences, to Shew that the Said Edward Bacon Esq^r in their Opinion was Unfriendly to to the United States of America as Sett forth in their petition but the Said Edward Bacon Esq^r did not attend at Said Court Agreeable to the Choice of Said Town the Second time he was Chose as aforementioned, Since which on the 20th Instant the Said town by a Majority of votes at a town Meeting of Said town Elected the Said Edward Bacon Esq^r to represent them in the General Court of this State for the present year and as the reasons Still Subsist against the Said Edward Bacon Esq^r in the minds of your petitioners as Sett forth in the two former petitions we Humbly pray your Honours to take up the two former petitions therewith presented with the Evidences attending them

¹ Massachusetts Archives, cccxii. 504a-b.

taken in a Legal way at a great Expence and give your petition^{rs} a hearing against the Said S^d Edward Bacon Esq^r who they apprehend ought not to be allowed a Seat in the General Court of this State, this we do not from any Sinister Views of our own but from a Sincere Regard to our Country, that our publick Councells May not at this Critical period, be Embarrassed with persons Inimical to our Just Rights and Liberties, we therefore pray that the Said Edward Bacon Esq^r may not be permitted to have a Seat in the house of Representatives, or to take the Matter up in Such way as your Honours in their wisdom Shall think best and y^r petitioners as in duty bound Shall Ever pray &c.

Joseph Annable ¹	Silvanus Gorham	John Lothrop
Eben ^r Baker	John Gray	Benj ⁿ Lovel
Samuell Baker	Micah Hamblin	Cornel. Lovil
Nathan Bassett	Nath ^l Hinkly J ^r	Jacob Lovil
Churchil Blossom	Thomas Homer	Tho ^s Lumber
Eben ^r Claghorn	Ansil Howland	Jonathan Lumbert
ben Cobb	Nath ^l Howland	James Otis
Eleazer Cobb	Zacc. Howland	John Otis J ^r
John Coffey	Eben ^r Jenkins	Jo ^s Otis
Eben ^r Colman	Jo ^s Jenkins	Solomon Otis
James Colman	Nath ^l Jenkins	Isaiah Parker
James Colman J ^r	Nath ^l Jenkins J ^r	Timothy Phenev
Sam ^l Cottle	Zacch. Jenkins	Benj ⁿ Smith
Nath ^l Crocker	David Lewis Jn ^r	William Sturgis
W ^m Crocker 3 ^d	George Lewis	Jethro Thacher
Daniel Davis	John Lewis	John Thacher
Jonathan Davis Jur.	Josiah Lewis	John Thacher Jun ^r
T. Davis Freeman	Peter Lewis	Anthony Thatcher
Benj ^s Goodspeed	Benjamin Lothrop	Elisha Thatcher
Lewis Gorham	Eben ^r Lothrop	Jo ^s Totman
Prince Gorham		

BARNSTABLE May 20th 1779

[Endorsed]

Petit. of Daniel Davis Esq^r & others vs Edw^d Bacon Esq^r

DEPOSITION OF EDWARD DAVIS, MAY 28, 1779 ²

I Edward Davis of Boston testifie & declare that the beg[inning of] last march a twelve month ago I was in company with one Simeon Cain

¹ The name of Daniel Davis heads the list.

² Massachusetts Archives, ccxxii. 518a-c. The identity of this Edward Davis has eluded research.

who took me to belong to the Convention troops and in Conversation told me that Burgoins men were gitting into our army to deceive us and that he the said Cain wanted to git some body to send as an Express to his friends in several places and see how many they could get to Join General Pigot¹ and what provisions they could procure for him and bring the Returns to him and then to git a Holow Cane and cary his Express to General Pigot on Rhode island and to General howe in Philadelphia I mentioned this to General hancock² accordingly after I was provided with a Continantal sute & a horse I went to the sd Cane to marshfield and agreed with him I was to go to dartmouth first to one —— foster and he would give me Directions. I was to Git the List of those who would Join Pigot — of those head whigs they wanted taken up & sent to Rhode island and when I came back from Rhode island to bring off Counterfit money in order to be spread about I went to the sd fosters and saw at a Old House near there two men who caled them selves Elisha and Edward Bourn of sandwich who said they were going to Rhode island and foster & s^d Bourns directed me to major Bourn of sandwich and some others to Edward Bacon Esq^r of Barnstable and doc^t fessenden of harwich who lived in Different parts of the county of Barnstable who would assist me to sd Lists and tell me who Else it would do to applye to. The s^d Bourns said they would come back to sandwich with forces and take up and carry off the head whigs that they Left Sandwich because they would not swear allegiance to the americans and others they sopposed were gon to Goal sunday night I set out and went to sandwich and called at a house by the way agreable to my directions saw the man who freely came into the measures went to major Bourns introduced my business to him and told him I had seen Elisha Bourn & had an errand to his wife upon telling the major that Pigot was a going to send troops there to take up the head whigs and distress the Inhabitants he Expressed Great Joy and Got his hors and went with me to Elisha Bourns there I was provided with a new horse to go down the Cape to see the sd Esq^r Bacon and doc^t fessenden and after some conversation went back and staid at the majors that night I saw them one Raymont who I was also desired to see Conversed freely with the major his dafter and Raymont Raymont said he should have gone of to the Regulars long ago if it had not ben for his family the times was got to be so hard that he could git nothing but smock money swor one womans smock would pay of a Regiment of these yankees he had some Raggs he had a notion to have made up All the halves said he had smock money Enough and

¹ Sir Robert Pigot (1720-1796).

² John Hancock.

would not do any wourk that he always took up the kins side & always Intended to stand upon his side never took up armes against him and never would before he would obey the Laws of the Country he would Run off to the Regulars Said he would assest any time in taking up the head Ringleaders and carry of to Rhode island and aspecially Co^l free-man & many other things he said and the major and he contrived about a Vessal that lay down below the Porck House to carry off the whigs in and if they could not git her off they would git boats — the major told me he had a Son gone off to Rhode island and number of men from that Neighbourhood and had sense ben back and ben secreted a fortnight together had been at his house they had been home several times and carried off Provition that a neighbour of his sent a Quantity of venison to General pigot the major or Raymont I think it was the major told me when these men came from Rhode island they brought home counterfit money to spread about and disstress the whiggs some[] said was Left with Seth perry and told me if I wanted I might have Enough of it at Gibbes the major agreed to send in his name and his families as friends to the King and to write a letter to his son and Give directions where the troops should land bade me charge his son to come with them some were to Come in below his house but the Heaviest part att a Harbour I think hianas his Reasons was because it would draw the attention of Plimouth and Rochester and wareham down that way while the rest landed above & Cut of the Communication said the night should be fixed upon when they should Coax away Col freeman and some others he mentioned and take them and put them aboard the boat and send thim to Rhod island in irons the major said the whiggs never mistrusted these mens being at home they came in a boat in the night said there was but 2 or 3 families in monument but what would not fight against the king and that if the troops Came in below at Barnstable they would have the most of them to fight for them he recomended me to doctor Smith as a friend to the king who it would do to trust and gave me a letter to him advised me to see th[e p]risoners especially he advised me to Esq bacon who he said was a substantial fr[iend] to the King wh[o] d] against the Congress & stood it out to the Last and he sopposed he was of the same mind yet and in the mean time he would git the List prepared the writings ready and the plan concerted for the troops landing advised me to call at no taverns except one he discribed where the tories met to consert their plans nor to let Col freeman see me and to call and loge at his house when I came back I went to doc^{tr} Smiths gave him the letter said he liked the plan and would see me when I came back advised me to Esq^r bacon and

others said I should meet with no difficulty with Esq^r bacon and that he would contrive for me to see the prisoners when I got to Barnstable I went to Esq^r bacons in the Evening had some conversation with him as he stood in the Entry he asked my business I told him I was advised to him by major bourn and deo^t Smith and my business was as a Spy from General pigot I was contriveing about taking up the liberty men he told me he had company in the house and said he liked the plan and wanted to talk further with me and advised me to old mr Crockers tavern & to call and see him in the morning I went back to mr Crockers and stade there next morning I conversed freely with mr crocker some time in the barn and after wards with him and otis Loring in the barn who he sent for on purpose they came fully into the plan Crocker said all that he desired and prayed for was that the kings troops might prevail that we might live in quietness and peace as we used to under the kings laws for we had no business to Rebell against the measures the king had put out agreed to see me when I came back and to send in his and his families names and a number of others to the kings officers and Loring agreed to the same in every particular he said he longed to see the day when the Read Coats (meaning the kings troops) were in this County for the people here was tearing one another to peaces and taking away their Entrest because they would not go into the servis and it was no better then stealing said if old Col^l otis Briga^d otis & Davis was took up and carried off they could do well Enough in Barnstable and many other things much to the same purpose they said they advised me to go over and consult Esq^r bacon and his son and Isaac bacon and some others and the prisoners who they hoped would stand true & not take the oath Loring agreed to go forward to Esq^r bacons and talk with him first and pave the way for me accordingly when Loring had ben gon a little I went over to s^d bacons road up to the door Bacon came out I told him I was the person that called Last night and now called again as he desired he told me he was well acquainted with major bourn and docter Smith and lately seen them told me mr loring was in the house and let me into the whole of your plans and he liked them much and should do all that he could to carry it on that he had always ben upon that side my mind is that way and if I can do any thing to serve it depend upon it I will said he was one stiled inimical to his Country because he would not fall in with the Leaders in the Cause wished me success said the bigger part of the people in that town was friends to the king [] but a fue hot headed men that thought other ways he took me back of the house said there was some folkes in the house that he did not choose should here us talk said he would have

me go down as far as doc^{tr} fessenden at Harwich and Cap^t Gideon Batyes at Eastham whose Names he gave me in writing and told me they was harty friends to the King I might not be affraid to say any thing to them they are substantial friends we see one another often there is no need of my writing only tell them that I advised you to them & and as a token tell them that I had quitted my notion of the office I spoke to them about and they will know that you have seen me and and that I sent you to them told me to be very carefull and keep secret and fessenden and Baty would tell me who it would do to trust and to call and see him as I came back and to be sure to come in the Night and to stay at his house it should cost me nothing for me and my horse charged me to come in the night which was to be friday night said he would send in his name and his families and git the writing all ready against I came back he asked me about the troops landing and where they were to come I told him to hianis and Buzzards bay he said they would have a number to joyn them if they did come hed warrant said that there was a number of good hearty friends to the Regulars down along the Cape & in that town said he knew me as soon as he see me coming for loring told him if he see a man coming with a Read great coat a fur cap and but one legg I might go out and speak with you he said Loring is the principle hand to carry on private matters and I need not be afraid to trust him wished me success told me I might depend on fessenden and Baty and we parted I then went to doc^{tr} fessenden and Revealed the business to him he agreed fully in the plans and Entertained me all night told me of a man he had Secreted at his house who was Going off to the Regulars and sence gone and wanted to send a letter to him agreed to go with me to Batys next morning & to assist all in his powr advised one Stone to take a commission under the King who consented and much other conversation we had but was prevented from making any further discovery at that time by Reason of being taken by an officer in Consequence of which I was Committed to Goal while in goal the sd Loring & old mr Crocker visited Repeatedly Charged me to stand true to my trust told me Esq bacon wanted to know if I had destroyed the paper he gave me told me they would assist me to git me out that Esq bacon and they had Contrived it and that he loring would mak[e] a fals key and send his son to Let me out his son Came accordingly to let me out but the lock was shifted which prevented it after I left the Goal and had ben to plymouth I Returned in the night and was secreted by one Josiah Goodspeed at his house who furnished me with a list of his and a number of his neighbours names as friends to General pigot and another list of persons to take up and told me he had agreed to purchase beaf of some of his

neighbour[rs] for the King and was a going aboard one of the Kings ships as a pilot and intended to pilot them to Barnstable said that all hands had agreed to stand by one another and Git Esq^r bacon Choose select man and Repre[senta]tive for all any business and if they could git him at the head of affairs [] should do well Enough

EDWARD DAVIS

BOSTON May. 28, 1779.

32

PETITION OF EDWARD BACON, JUNE 2, 1779¹

To the Hon^{ble} House of Representatives, of the State of Massachusetts Bay

On his Bended knees before this Hon^{ble} House your distrest Petitioner most Humbly Shews,

That he was taken by surprize, before this Hon^{ble} House, on the 31st of May; and as he was not sworn as a Member of the same from the motive of modesty only; as he was not call'd upon by any of the Hon^{ble} members He imagined he had no Right to speak — when a petition and Remonstrance was Read containing in it, & two former petitions, to which it Referd, the Highest Charges against your memorilist for the Blackest crimes; one of which former Petitions, as well as the Latter one your memorialist, had never seen the Hon^{ble} House will Please to Remember that, without Call'd upon me to know if I was Ready to answer to those Very Important and all interesting Charges to your unhappy memorialist at so Early a period as the next Day, appointed that time for his tryal — at which time After Leave first obtained from the Hon^{ble} House, your memorialist with the most serious truth Solomnly Declair'd himself wholly unrepair'd for so important and all interesting a tryal and most humbly pray'd for the Indulgence of a future Day in order to git himself prepair'd for the solomn Event, of which however he had the most mortifying unhappyness to be Denied, by a small majority of the Hon^{ble} House who proceeded to a hearing on the part of the petitioners, while your unhappy Respondand, was not in a Capacity to make his Defence — your Humble petitioner, therefore with profound Veneration most Humbly prays, that the Hon^{ble} House the only Guardians of the Deareest and all interesting Rights of a people would take his unhappy case into their wise just & paternal consideration & be pleased to Reconsider the Votes of yesterday Relateing to the premises and yet Grant your Humble petitioner Leave to answer for himself & by the oaths of Good and Lawfull men in order to place his character

¹ Massachusetts Archives, cccxii. 505a-b. See the next note.

in such a point of view as it Justly merits and if found worthy of Bonds imprisonment or Even Death it self after after a fair & full hearing, he Refusees not But is Ready Even to Die & as in Duty &c Shall Ever Pray

EDW^d BACON

Dated at BOSTON June y^e 2^d 1779

[*Endorsed*]

Petition of Edward Bacon Esq^r dismiss'd June 2^d 1779

33

SPEECH OF EDWARD BACON, JUNE (?), 1779¹

MR SPEAKER

in times of Publick Calamity Such as are the present it is peculiarly unhappy to have the ill will of any Even the Least Member of the Society of which any one Allso is a member, but it must be much more Dreadfull and Alarming Even Beyond Conception When the man or any Number of men hapen to be in power who for many Preceeding years have Born the most malavolent will to the Devoted Victim and are Determined at all Events by the Blackest Calumny to Make him a Sacrifice to their Ambitious purposes I Say Sir when that is the Case the Scituation of the unhappy man is Beyond the power of Language fully To Express — Especially in times when popular prejudices may hapen to arise to Such Enormous heights that a florid and well Conceived Charge to answer A particular purpose may be taken for such proofs as may Induce those that are to Decide thereon to proceed so far as To pass a Censer on the Supposed Culprit while yet unheard

Your Honors Respondent Begg to be understood that he Does not at present Suppose that To be his Unhappy Case — who is again Called upon to answer before this Honorable House — to Certain high Charges and misdemeaners in the memorial and petition Contained the Bare mention of which may Seem Sufficient at first View to make the most Inocent tremble for the Dreadfull Consequences Charges Sir, which upon the Closest Reflection he cannot find the most Distant Idea Resting upon his mind: but Supported by the most noble fortitude arising from the Contemplation of the Integrity of his Soul in political matters and the wisdom and Justice of this Honorable House has the hapiness

¹ Massachusetts Archives, ccxxii. 506a-d. At first glance, nos. 32 and 33 do not appear to be in the same hand; but a closer examination of the two documents and a comparison of them with the three letters of Edward Bacon already referred to (see p. 277 note 5, above), make it reasonably certain that both are in the hand of Bacon. No. 33 is hastily scribbled, while no. 32 is written in a more formal manner.

to Injoy some Good Degree of tranquility of mind Even when Cruelly Atackt by unrelenting persecutors¹ — from this Honorable House I Dare Venture to say with the Strongest Assurance that all preconceived prejudices will be totally Banisht and that I shall be fully and Candidly heard and finally Receive Such a Determination as shall allways Reflect Honor on your Decision: by its Consistency with the natural Legal and Constitutional Rights of free men and in Suport of the Rights of all free Elections & in full Confidence of the foregoing Sentiment: I beg Leave to Lay before this Honorable House (without any Reserve) the whole of my political principles my Sentements at the Begining of the present unhappy Contest (if Required) and the Rule of my Conduct upon that principle and if in any Instance I have Deviated from the Character of a peaceable & Loyal Subject in any unguarded Expression or from that of a Good Citizen and worthy member of Society (of all which I am not at present concious) it must be oweing intirely owing to my unhappy feelings consequent upon the unkind unjust & insupportable Treatment not only your unhapy Respondent but others of his fellow Citizens have Repeatedly Rec^d from those who with their family Connections & their Dependents are the patrons and promoters of that cruel and unkind and I Beg Leave to say I think Impolitick Remonstrance & petition against me

for I cannot Easily be persuaded to beleive it the most Consummate policy to Disafect or Drive any from the Bosom of a State (nobly Contending for Liberty) that would wilingly & Cheerfully pay the most profound & faithfull allegiance to it meerly Because they have acted the part of a Genuine English man: and conformable to the Duty of an ancient Athenian when (if I mistake not) Solon was at the head of the Civil Government when Every Citizen was obliged in times of publick Danger To Speak his Sentiments thereon or be Banisht from the State freedom of Speech in an American House of Representatives I never did and I hope never shall View as a Crime in Such an Assembly while Siting at Salem in the year 1774 I Endeavoured with a modest & Generous freedom to Speak my Sentements upon political affairs and I most Seriously Declare before this Hon^{ble} House and Before God and the World the Sentiments were my own not borrowed from or Influenced

¹ Here about seven lines are crossed out. Not all the words can be read, but certain of them — "I humbly hope for pardon when I repeat the Ease and happiness I now feel Compared with the feelings before a former House when I had been Repeatedly informed that some of the members, worthy members had in Company out of Doors prejudged and Condemned your unhappy Respondent as inimical unheard" — prove that the speech was delivered (or written to be delivered) in June, 1779.

by a Bernard or Hutchinson or any other Govenor place man Pentioner or Mandamus Counciler or any other person of that obnoxious tribe neither have I ever been actuated by the baneful influence of either of them as that injurious Remonstrance So artfully Sugests in the first place with Respect to political principle: I aprehend it to be the indispensable Duty if not of Every individual yet of all those that are Called to act as Representitives of the people to offer their own Sentiments on publick affairs with a modest zeal and freedom of speech

2^d I hold it as a Setled fixt and invariable principle that when the majority of the State of which I am a Citizen have taken their part: that is to say have fixt & Setled any plan or form of Government which they may have adjudged to be most for the peace Safety and Benefit of the whole, Each & Every member of that Society ought of Duty to God and his Country to Behave as A Good peaceble & worthy member of the same Submitting to all Reasonable Laws Statutes and ordinances for the the Safety & Good Government thereof: and further if it should So happen that Such Laws Should be Enacted as in the opinion of Individuals might in their operation Prove prejudicial to the State — I confess I Canot at present See but that each individual may with modesty & Decency Endeavor to Convince the majority of their mistake allways Guarding against Every thing that may have a tendency to Break or Disturb the publick peace & tranquility or Indanger the Safety of the State of which he is a member —

3^d I hold it as an allowable principle in Government that if I am not Easey and Content under the Adminestration of the Government immediately over me So as to Behave my Self as a peaceble & Good Subject of the Same I ought to Remove my Self from it but not to the Enemy — if in time of war but to Some Neutral State or Kingdom

4th I hold it as my indispensable Duty to Bear All Good faith and true Allegiance to the State of the Massachusetts Bay (the Government immediately over me) and to Do all in my power to Support & Defend the Same: as well as other and all the united State of North America, against all invaders and all other their Enemies of all Ranks & Denominations whatsoever: Even if I had not taken the oath of allegiance to the same all which I most seriously Declare to have been the Steady & Invariable Rule of my Conduct without being Conscious to my Self of any the Least Variation of action therefrom: from the Time of the Battle of Lexinton to the present Day: and if Ever I have Deviated or Seemed to Deviate from the foregoing principle by any Word that may have inadvertently Escapt me: I Beg Leave to assure this Honorable House that it Did not proceed from any bad Disposition of mind against

this: or any other of the United States of America: but from some Sudden Ebullition of the Mind Either immediately on the Receipt of the most Cruel and insulting treatment from those persons their connections and abettors: who for years before the present unhappy war have seemed to bear the most settled malice and ill will against me: and who have ever since Even to the present Day been pursuing & persecuting me with such unremitting Vigor as if nothing short of my utter Destruction could satisfy their unhappy Disposition to Ruin me, or at Least wholly To prevent the Little usefulness I might be of in Life to my Country my family my fellow Citizens and friends deprived of which I Confess I can see but Little Remaining for which Even Life it Self Can appear Very Desirable.

But if in the Course of this Process any evidence should appear against me as it is Verely possible their may in matters of so long Standing Especially where the prosecutor and witness are the same person that any words have at any time been uttered by me in the course of five or six years which can be Suposed to Reflect the Least Dishonor on any Respectable personages In this or any other the United States of America I not only ask their pardon but the pardon of this Hon^{ble} House for the same: Your Honor is Sensible and this Hon^{ble} House Doubtless will Recolect, that the wisdom of our worthy ancestors Limited the Time for all actions for Slandorous words Spoken to be brought within one year from the Time they were uttered the Utility and Justice whereof is to Conspicuous (I Aprehend Can need Little or no Comment) for the frailty of humane nature is Such that in any Considerable Length of time the whole of the Conversation is Easerly forgotten — Sentences are Very Liable to be abridged tortured Cut and mangled and particular words are Liable to be selected therefrom which may and often Does Wrest & intirely pervert the intention of the Speaker by which he may be unjustly Exposed to the utmost Danger and Distress —

with Respect to myself personally so far as I can comprehend the Rules of Conduct Proper to be observed by the Loyal Subject in all free States I feel the Consoleing Pleasure (amidst the most Greivous trials) of an Aplauding Conscience High Sounding words and iliberal Censure on the one hand and the Harsh & unkind treatment I have unhapily felt on the other or any other Consideration whatever shall never Drive me from my Settled firm and unshaken friendship for and Allegiance To my native Country — for the Defence and Support Whereof I shall always hold myself under the most sacred obligations So long as I Can enjoy protection from the Same — I am not in the least Sensible at present that I have any thing To ask of meer favor.

I ask for nothing personally but of Right and a Right I have no Doubt the Hon^{ble} House will adjudge me to have to a fair & full hearing as well as a Suiatable & Convenient time to prepare for my Defence I being at present altogether unprepared therefor

But with Respect to the Loyall inhabitants of the Town who have Repeatedly Hon^d me with their free Sufrages As Their Representative (unsought for by me) I most Humbly Petition the Hon^{ble} House that they (if not by a Representative yet in some other Constitutional way) may have opertunity Given them to Excuse or aquit themselves from the unjust aspersions and misrepresentation which they have so long Laboured & even Groaned under — it Gives me aditional pain to be further tedious to the Hon^{ble} Court — as I observed above I am altogether unprepared at present for my Defence I therefore Humbly ask leave as I live in a Remote part of the State to hav the time assigned for a final hearing in matters So peculiarly Intresting as the present is for three or four weeks at Least if the Hon^{ble} House be then Siting or at the Begining of the next Siting of the Gen^l Court & that Joseph Nye & Solomon freeman Esq^{rs} of Harwich may be Specialy appointed with full power To Summons witnesses and take Depositions Relative to the affair if the Hon^{ble} House may Judge proper —

I Should not have presumed to have made any nomination to the Hon^{ble} House but as those Gentlemen were agreed on and appointed the Last Winter¹ in the Same affair I would only add at present that as I have had no Opertunity to Speak in my own Vindication before the Hon^{ble} House: that I may be indulged a few words for that purpese and allso with the reading of two or three papers that I hapen to have in my present possession in order to my Standing in not Quite So unhapy a point of Light with the Hon^{ble} House & in the publick view in Gen^l as it is Likely I must (if not thus indulged) untill my final tryal I shall not take up your Honors time in saying much to the present petition (it being altogether new to me) it at present appeares Plausible & popular at Such a Critical Day as the present is but if indulged by the Hon^{ble} House with a future Day as above Requested for my Vindication I Doubt not but that my inocency & Loyalty to this State will apear to this Honorable House and to all other Judicious persons without Doors in a pretty Clear point of Light and that the unhapy Causes of the Several Petitions and other the Difficulties at present Subsisting in that once happy Town: Do not proceed intirely from a Generous Zeal for the publick welfare and Safety: but from other Causes — Even the most excentric from those that are at present pretended, all which with

¹ January 13, 1779: see p. 273 note 4, above, and Note, p. 360, below.

Respect To Conduct your Honors Respondet Doubt not but he Can fully prove beyond Reasonable Doubt

34

ACCOUNTS OF EBENEZER JENKINS, JANUARY 21, JUNE 2, 1779

Accompt of the Expences of Eben^r Jenkins upon the Petition vs Edw^d Bacon Esq^r

To oats at Fessendens 2/. Supper & oats at Ellis's 15/.			
Horse keep ^s Lodg ^s & Breakfast at Cornishes			
23/6 Oats at Bartlets 3/	2	3	6
To Dinner & oats at Halls 12/. Oats 3/	0	15	0
To Lod ^s Supper & Horse keep ^s ¹	1	10	0
To Breakfast & Oats 15/ fix ^s Horse 18/	1	13	0
To Shaving 7/. Horse keep ^s in Boston 12.18/	13	5	0
To Expences to Deadham after a witness	1	2	0
To Expences going home	3	12	0
To Tavern Expence	0	19	0
	24	19	6
To Boarding in Boston	12	10	0
	£37	9	6

EBEN^B JENKINS ²

Boston Jan^y 21st 1779

State of Mass^a Bay D^r to Eben^r Jenkins For attending the General Court on the Petition against Edward Bacon Esq^r viz:—

June 2 ^d To my time coming to & attend ^s Court with a Day			
1779 to go Home is Six Days a 36/ pr. Day	10	16	6
To Boarding & Expences com ^s 60/ p ^r Day & going home	18	0	0
To cash paid witnesses 24/ 40/	3	4	0
To Horse hire till I got to y ^e Vessel 12 miles	1	16	0
To keeping the Horse 6 Nights	4	10	0
To cash paid Lot Crowl a witness 36/	1	16	0
To Solomon Freeman Esq ^{rs} Acco ^t for tak ^s Depositions	20	0	0
To Col. Freeman 3 Days Horse hire & expence taking Depositions	12	0	0
To Joseph Otis time & Expence	6	0	0
To Sherriffs Bill for Subpen ^s	10	12	6
To Ditto Subpen ^s Evidences on former Petit ⁿ	5	0	0
To Shaving & petty Expences while in Boston	1	10	0
To Seth Freeman Esq ^r tak ^s Deposition	1	10	0
	£95	16	6

Errors Excepted

EBENEZER JENKINS ³

¹ Here a word is undecipherable.

² Id. ccxxi. 257.

³ Id. ccxxii. 463.

RECORDS OF THE EAST PARISH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,
BARNSTABLE, JUNE 22, AUGUST 2, 30, 1780

A church meeting warned the preceding Sabbath to consider a complaint against twelve of the Brethren. The meeting opened with prayer. A complaint was exhibited by the Pastor signed Edward Bacon against the following brethren Daniel Davis Esq; Silvanus Gorham, Seth Lathrop, Jonathan Lumbard, John Thacher, Jethro Thacher, Nath Lathrop, John Lewis, George Lewis, Nath Lewis, Timothy Phinney & James Colman setting forth that these brethren had bro't against him sundry railing accusations in certain petitions presented to the General Court sometime since and had by said petitions treated him in a manner inconsistent with the truth, sincerity, brotherly kindness and charity recommended and enjoined in the gospel. Dⁿ Bacon produced the said petitions in support of his complaint and had a very full and fair hearing upon the matter. The twelve brethren then presented a written memorial which was also read by the Pastor setting forth that a C^h being an ecclesiastical body have no right to call their members to an account for action of a civil or political nature, that in signing petitions against Dⁿ Bacon they exercised their just rights as men and subjects of a free state; and that in their apprehension when they entered into a C^h state they did not give up any of their civil rights; that they did not charge the Dⁿ with any immorality but that in his religious character stood as fair in their minds when they signed the petition as before; that if they were chargeable with any overt acts of wickedness a breach of their covenant engagement they were willing to answer it to the C^h and to make Christian satisfaction, but that as to political controversies they begged leave to refer them to a civil tribunal.

After serious consideration and hearing all the parties had to offer the C^h came to the following votes

Vote 1 That it is the opinion of this C^h that it does not properly fall within their jurisdiction to judge and determine upon the complaint of Dⁿ Bacon against twelve of the Brethren on account of their presenting certain petitions against him at the General Court or on account of any matters contained therein — This passed by a great majority.

Voted unanimously 2. That the C^h do desire and request Dⁿ Bacon who has for sometime withdrawn from their communion to return to his privilege and duty and the discharge of his office in sd C^h.

The meeting was adjourned to the Lecture day after this.

Aug. 2 The C^h met according to adjournment and Deaⁿ Bacon signified in writing that he could not see his way to return to the communion and the discharge of his office without some satisfaction from the petitioners and also made a formal resignation of his office; but upon some intimations being given from some of the brethren with whom he was offended, that they had no design to injure him and that if they had tho't so much difficulty would have arisen they should not have signed the petition, it was moved and seconded by several of the brethren that a committee should be appointed to attempt a reconciliation and accordingly it was voted that a Committee of three be appointed to visit with the Dⁿ and the several brethren stiled petitioners and if possible settle the controversy. Capn W. Taylor, Isaac Lewis, Joseph Hallett were appointed. The meeting adjourned to the next Lecture day.

Aug. 30. The C^h met by adjournment and the committee reported that the affair between Dⁿ Bacon and the brethren stiled petitioners was happily accomodated and the Dⁿ declared that he w^d return to his duty and the discharge of his office.

The meeting dismissed.¹

36

CONFESSIONS, DECLARATIONS, AND RECANTATIONS,
SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER, 1774²

BARNSTABLE, October 10, 1774.

ON Tuesday the 27th ult. the Time for the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, and Inferior Court of Common Pleas for this County to sit, a great number of People from this, and the neighbouring Counties of Plymouth and Bristol, being assembled before the Court-House door in this Town; after choosing a Moderator, Voted and Resolved, That it was inexpedient for said Courts to sit, under the present situation of our public affairs, until the opinion of the Continental or of a Provincial Congress could be known; and therefore chose a Committee,

¹ Cf. A. Otis, *Barnstable Families*, i. 227-228.

² Boston Evening Post of October 31 and November 7, 1774.

Attention has already been called to the fact that Freeman "concealed the names of tories who were disciplined in 1774 by an orderly assemblage known as the Body of the People" (p. 281, above). "The letters A. B., and so on," wrote Freeman, "we employ not as *initials*, but use them alphabetically to designate different cases. Both the names and the initials of those suspected of toryism will be uniformly suppressed in this connection;" and he offered a lengthy apology for such a procedure (*History*, i. 437 note). The extracts in no. 36 enable me to identify most of the persons whose names were suppressed by Freeman.

viz. Dr. *Nathaniel Freeman* and Mr. *Stephen Nye*, of Sandwich, Capt. *Daniel Crocker* of Barnstable, Capt. *Noah Fearing* of Wareham, and Dr. *John Pitcher* of Rochester, to present the following Address to the Justices of said Court, then convened at the House of Mr. Crocker, Innholder in this Town.

To the Honorable Justices of his Majesty's Inferior Court of Common Pleas, and Court of General Sessions of the Peace, for the County of Barnstable.
May it please your Honors.

THE Inhabitants of this Province, being greatly alarmed at the late unconstitutional Acts of the British Parliament, considering them as calculated to establish tyranny and oppression instead of the once happy constitution of this Province; in consequence of which many respectable Counties in the same have prevented the sitting of the Inferior Courts, as well as Superior; we judge, not from an apprehension, merely, that they were not *constitutional*; but, from a supposition, that there might be appeals from *them* to the *Superior Court*, the Chief Justice of which receiving his support from the Crown, Independent of the grants of the People, cannot fail to have an unhappy bias in favor of said unconstitutional Acts; and two others, of the superior Judges, having sworn to carry the same Acts into execution; and judging, that by proceeding upon appeals from a Court friendly to the Constitution, and zealous for their Country's cause, to the said *Superior Court*, we might in *this way*, if no other, open a door for the said Chief Justice and his assistants to execute their Commissions on the plan of the said oppressive Acts.

Wherefore a great number of the Inhabitants of the County of Barnstable, being now convened, with several others from the several Counties in Old Plymouth Colony, taking into serious consideration the necessity of using every precaution to prevent the operation of said Acts, & believing the following one necessary, do humbly request your Honors to desist from all business in said Courts, and from holding any Sessions thereof, till the minds of the Continental, or of a Provincial Congress, be obtained: — And that your Honors would assure this body, that you will not, in any manner, assist in carrying said unconstitutional Acts into execution, nor hold any commission in consequence of said Acts, and upon the new establishment, or in any manner conform thereto; but that you will use your utmost endeavors to prevent the same from taking place.

Barnstable,
Sept. 27, 1774.

<i>N. Freeman,</i>	} A Committee chosen
<i>S. Nye,</i>	
<i>D. Crocker,</i>	
<i>N. Fearing,</i>	
<i>T. Pitcher,¹</i>	
	by the Body of the
	People to present this
	Address to your Ho-
	nors in their Name.

The Address being presented accordingly, the Justices after taking the same into consideration, returned the following Answer, viz.

TO Nathaniel Freeman, John Pitcher, Stephen Nye, Daniel Crocker, and Noah Fearing, a Committee, as they say, chosen by the Body of the People, to present an Address, this 27th of September, 1774, to the Honorable Justices of his Majesty's Inferior Court of Common Pleas, and Court of General Sessions of the

¹ An error for J. Pitcher.

Peace. — Said Address being presented to the Justices of said County, or at least as many as are present: The said Justices in answer thereto, say, That they are as much concerned at the late unconstitutional Acts of the British Parliament, as the Body of the People are; but apprehend, that the People's embodying this Day, to hinder the said Court's sitting, as usual, will not help the matter; especially as said Court was about to sit in the same constitutional way as we have always done ever since we have been a County; and had said Court been suffered to have been open'd, they would have proceeded in the same regular manner as usual; and as to appeals, should there be any, they will be to the next Superior Court of Judicature, &c. and they can't possibly be tried, till we have a constitutional one. — And we are sorry that we are interrupted, for unless we can proceed to open said Courts and adjourn, we can be in no capacity to proceed when we hear the opinion of the general Congress, or a Provincial one; and as to the assurance you request, that we would not assist in carrying said unconstitutional Act into execution, you may be fully assured, that there is not one of the said Justices, that incline to do it, or to hold any commission in consequence thereof; and shall do all that is in our power in a constitutional way, to prevent said Act from taking place — Therefore, we the said Justices, express our utmost concern that said courts of justice, in this, or any other county, should be turned out of their ordinary, or constitutional course, by the people of this province, until the minds of the continental or a provincial congress can be fully known, as we can by no means apprehend that any ill consequences can attend the setting of said Courts, until this month expires.

David Thatcher,	Kenelm Winslow,	James Otis,
Daniel Davis,	Joseph Otis,	Thomas Smith,
Meletiah Bourn,	Isaac Hinkley,	Edward Bacon,
Shearjashub Bourn.	Nymphas Marston,	David Gorham,
		Solomon Otis, ¹

The answer being communicated to the people, after taking the same into consideration and thoroughly deliberating thereon, two of the Justices of said court² having sign'd an address to the late governor Hutchinson, upon his departure from the province; one of them an old *Rescinder*,³ two, voters against the General Congress, one or more

¹ This answer is signed by thirteen of the eighteen justices. The names of the other five are given in a declaration printed later: see p. 341, below.

² Shearjashub Bourn and David Gorham. Both were among "the Gentlemen of the Law" who addressed Hutchinson on May 28, 1774: see Boston News Letter, June 2, p. 1/2.

Bacon was not an addresser of Hutchinson. But when Hutchinson became Governor in 1771, the justices of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace and Inferior Court of Common Pleas for the County of Barnstable drew up an address which on July 15th was "presented to His Excellency by Edward Bacon, Thomas Smith, and Isaac Hinkley, Esq; a Committee of said Courts" (Boston Evening Post, July 22, 1771, p. 1/2). This, of course, carried no implication of toryism, for it had long been customary to salute a new governor in that way.

³ The allusion is to Chillingsworth Foster, one of the justices. In February, 1768, the House adopted a circular letter to the other colonies. On June 21 Gov. Bernard sent a message to the House requiring it, "in his majesty's name, to rescind the resolution of the last house of representatives, in consequence of

aiding and assisting in vending the East-India company's Tea last winter, another concern'd in endeavouring to procure a mob to destroy private property, on purpose, as is apprehended, to bring an odium on the friends of liberty; these considerations with others, evinced the necessity of some better assurance, that they would hold no commissions in consequence of said acts, than barely saying they did not *incline to do it*. And considering, that if causes were tried by the Inferior Court, appealed and *then*, no final issue, till we have a constitutional Superior court, it might be attended with more difficulty, cost and damages to the parties, than to suspend any process at all, till such court can be had; as in case of process and appeal, the plaintiff must not only lay out of the principal, but of an additional bill of costs. — Besides in case of final issue, it might be only making work for unconstitutional sheriffs; these apprehensions, added to the great indignation of the people, towards some tools of ministerial corruption and oppression, who never can give satisfaction, while in office, induced them to resolve and vote, that notwithstanding what the court had offered, they still thought it inexpedient for them to set, and that their answer should be immediately returned them, as being by no means satisfactory in any particular. A committee of the body accordingly returned it, and informed the Justices, that the people desired to know whether they determined to set or not as a court; the Justices then told the Committee they should not. — A committee then waited on them, by order of the people, and desired them to sign a solemn declaration, that they would not accept of any commission, in consequence of the late acts of the British parliament, or do any business, in their respective offices, in conformity thereto; they also waited on the high sheriff, to desire the same of him; and on David Gorham and Shearjashub Bourn, Esq'r; to acquaint them of the resentment and just indignation of the people towards them for addressing the late infamous governor Hutchinson, upon his departure from this province, whereby they used their endeavours to support, encourage and applaud, a *known Traitor*, and *inveterate Enemy*, to the country. — That said address was, in the apprehension of the people, no less false and designing, than flattering and fulsome, and discovered

which a circular letter had been sent to the several assemblies upon the continent" (Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts*, iii. 195). On June 30 the question was put, "Whether this House will Rescind the Resolution of the last House which gave Birth to their circular Letter," and, the question being then put, "the Members severally giving their Voice Yea or Nay, it pass'd in the Negative by a Division of 92 to 17" (House Journal, p. 89). Among the seven-teen rescinders, was Chillingsworth Foster, then a representative from Harwich. (See our Publications, viii. 95 note 1.)

the unparalleled vanity, insolence and audacity of the addressors, in daring, openly, to contradict the united express'd sentiments of both houses of the General Court, as well as of all America; by which conduct, they have forfeited the esteem of the public, and enlisted under the banners of said Hutchinson, as enemies to the cause of liberty; for which they ought immediately to make satisfaction to the offended public.

The Justices and Sheriff signed the respective *declarations*, and the Addressors the respective *confessions* enclosed herewith, which were voted satisfactory. [*But the Publication of them, for want of Room, must be deferr'd till next Week.*]

The body of people then voted and resolved, That the Military officers, holding commissions under a Captain-General, at the head of forces raised against the Rights and Properties, and consequently the Lives of the inhabitants of this country and who is constantly making hostile preparations against it, must themselves be considered as enemies to the country likewise, unless they immediately resign their commissions: And therefore a committee was chosen to apply to, and acquaint them herewith, and to desire them to resign accordingly; and also to apply to the deputy-sheriffs for them to sign a declaration, respecting said oppressive acts, suitable to their offices.

The body of the people also voted to address the honorable James Otis, Esq; of this Town, as one of the constitutional Councillors of the Province, and pray his Honor's Attendance at the General Court, to be holden at Salem on the 5th Day of October next — The whole body accordingly marched in procession to him, and presented to him the following Address, viz.

To the Honorable JAMES OTIS, Esq;

May it please your Honour,

THE body of people assembled from the several counties of Barnstable, Plymouth and Bristol, on the 28th day of Sept. 1774, at or near the court house in Barnstable, beg leave to address your Honour, as one of his Majesty's constitutional council of this province; and to assure you that we entertain a very high and grateful sense of that *integrity*, and of those *abilities*, which have long distinguished you, as in every important trust reposed in you by the public, so especially in the capacity we now consider you.

And whereas his Excellency the Governor of this Province,¹ hath issued writs for electing a new house of representatives, to meet at Salem, on the 5th day of October next, and notwithstanding a number of councillors have been appointed by mandamus from his Majesty, in consequence of a late act of the British parliament; but presuming the representatives of this people, yet determined to be free, never will, or ought, to consent to do any business with them, and as we look upon the council chose last May by the great and general court, according

¹ Thomas Gage.

to charter, to be the only constitutional council of this Province; we do therefore pray your Honour, that you would attend the great and general court at Salem the next sessions, in said capacity; and that you would continue those endeavours to obtain a redress of the grievances so justly complained of by the People, which have long distinguished you as an able defender of our constitution and liberties: And now wishing your Honour the support of Heaven in your advanced age, that you may much longer remain a blessing to this Province, and enjoy the happiness of seeing those Rights restored, which have been most injuriously wrested from us, we beg leave to subscribe ourselves, your Honour's most obedient humble Servants,

Barnstable, Sept. 28.
1774.

<i>Nath'l Freeman,</i>	} A Committee in Behalf of the People.
<i>Stephen Nye,</i>	
<i>Jos. Haskel, 3d.</i>	
<i>Noah Fearing,</i>	
<i>John Pitcher,</i>	

To the above Address Colonel OTIS was pleased to return the following
Answer, viz.

GENTLEMEN,

YOUR very complaisant Address to me as a constitutional Councillor of this Province, desiring me to attend my Duty at Salem on the 5th of October, the Time when the General Court is to set, I am obliged to you for, and for putting me in Mind of my Duty; and I am determined to attend at Salem at that Time, in case my Health permits.

I am,

Your very humble Servant.

Barnstable, Sept. 28. 1774.

JAMES OTIS.

The People expressed their high esteem of that honourable Gentleman, the grateful sense of his past Services, their sanguine expectation of his future exertions, and hearty approbation of his obliging answer to their address, by giving him three cheers, and then march'd back in procession to the court-house.

The People voted and resolved, that as the town of Boston was now suffering in a common cause, they would use their endeavours to relieve them, by encouraging and procuring donations for their support — that they would immediately provide themselves with arms and ammunition, and hold themselves in readiness to assist, in defending the town of Boston, and the rights and liberties of this country, which they never would give up, but with their lives and fortunes — that they would not import any more goods from Great-Britain, or purchase any imported by others, after that time, till the port of Boston be opened and the late oppressive acts repealed — that they would use their endeavours to suppress common pedlars, &c. And that this body have not met together in a riotous, wanton or disorderly manner, with a design of injuring the person or property of any body, nor passed the above votes and resolutions in opposition to good government, or disloyalty to our Sovereign; but from a painful necessity of exerting ourselves, in a serious, steady and determined manner, to prevent the total extirpation of

liberty, justice and religion from our land. And we do express our abhorrence and detestation of all riotous and disorderly proceedings, our determination to use our utmost endeavours to keep the peace, to prevent and suppress all mobs, riots and tumults, and to procure a due submission to the laws of the land.

Information being make to the People, that the towns of Barnstable, Yarmouth and Eastham (whose late representatives¹ voted against the grand continental Congress) in their late election had left out those persons, and chosen others to represent their respective towns, whose attachment to the cause of their country was too well known not to excite joy on such a happy change, the People testified their hearty approbation thereof by three cheers. And after finishing their business with the utmost decency and good order, the People dispersed to their respective homes.²

The following are the Declarations & Confessions of the Justices, Sheriff, Addressors, &c. omitted last Week in the Proceedings of the County of Barnstable for want of Room, viz.

WHEREAS there have been of late several Acts of the British Parliament tending to introduce an unjust and partial Administration of Justice, to change our free Constitution to a state of Slavery and Oppression, and to introduce Popery into some Parts of British America: We do therefore engage and declare that we the Subscribers will not accept of any Commission in Consequence of or in Conformity to said Acts of Parliament, or upon any unconstitutional Regulation, and that if either of us are required to do any Business in our respective Offices in Conformity to said Acts, or any Ways contrary to the Charter of this Province, that we will refuse to do it, although we may thereby lose our Commissions. As Witness our Hands at Barnstable on the 27th Day of September, A. D. 1774.

James Otis,	Kenelm Winslow,	Richard Bourn,
Thomas Smith,	David Thatcher,	Chil. Foster,
Edward Bacon,	Daniel Davis,	Thomas Winslow,
Solomon Otis,	Melatiah Bourn,	David Gorham,
Joseph Otis,	Shearja. Bourn,	Thomas Bourn
Nymphas Marston,	Isaac Hinkley,	R. Cotton.

The Declaration of the Sheriff of the County of Barnstable.

WHEREAS there have, of late, been passed several Acts of the British Parliament tending to introduce an unjust and partial Administration of Justice in this Province, to alter its free Constitution to a Slate of Slavery and Oppression, and to establish or encourage Popery in some Parts of British

¹ Edward Bacon, David Thacher, and Barnabas Freeman were "the late representatives" from Barnstable, Yarmouth, and Eastham, respectively (Massachusetts Province Laws, xviii. 799). Barnabas Freeman is Freeman's S. T. (History, i. 450).

² To this point, the extracts are taken from the Boston Evening Post of October 31, p. 3. What follows is from the issue of November 7, p. 4.

America: I the Subscriber do therefore hereby declare that I will not take a Commission as High Sheriff, or any other Commission in Consequence of or in Conformity to said Acts, or any unconstitutional Plan; that I will not be in any manner aiding or assisting in executing said Acts; and further, that I have never received any new Commission since the passing said Acts. As Witness my Hand at Barnstable, this 28th Day of Sept. 1774. NATH. STONE.

Shearjashub Bourn, and David Gorham, Esq's, Confession as Addressors to the late Governor Hutchinson.

WHEREAS I the Subscriber signed an Address to the late Governor Hutchinson, upon his departure from this Province, which hath given great Offence to the Public, I do now freely declare that I am very sorry I signed it, that I was very sorry soon after I did it, and that if it was to do again I should refuse it, and do hereby ask forgiveness of the offended Public, and do consent and desire that this Paper may be published in the Boston News-Papers. Barnstable, Sept. 27, 1774. SHEARJASHUB BOURN.¹

DAVID GORHAM, Esq;² another Addresser of the late Governor Hutchinson, the same Day signed a Confession similar to the above.

The Declaration of the military Officers of the Town of Sandwich.

WHEREAS Application hath this Day been made to us military Officers of the Company of Militia in the Town of Sandwich, by certain Gentlemen said to be appointed by the Body of the People to apply to us to resign our military Commissions, we hereby promise and engage that we will by the first Opportunity transmit our Resignations of our respective Commissions to the Chief Colonel of the Regiment, to be by him transmitted to the Captain General; and that we will not by any Way or Means assist in carrying into Execution the late Acts of Parliament, and that we will not accept of any Commission in Consequence of or in Conformity to said Acts, or under any unconstitutional Regulations. As Witness our Hands, this 3d Day of October, A.D. 1774.

John Smith, Lieut.
Silas Bourn, Capt.
Elisha Bourn, Capt.
Cornelius Toby, jun. Ensi.
Micah Blackwell, Lieut.

Major Bourn's Declaration.

WHEREAS Application hath been made to me, a Field Officer of the first Regiment of the Militia in the County of Barnstable, by certain Gentlemen appointed by the Body of the People to request me to resign my military Commission as Major; I do hereby promise and engage by the first Opportunity to transmit a Resignation of my Commission to the Captain-General of the Province; and I also promise and engage that I will not hereafter accept of any Commission whatever under any unconstitutional Regulation.

Sandwich, Octo. 5, 1774.

THO. BOURN.³

¹ Shearjashub Bourne is Freeman's C. D. (History, i. 438).

² David Gorham is Freeman's E. F. (History, i. 438).

³ Thomas Bourne is Freeman's U. V. (History, i. 451).

Deputy Sheriffs Declaration.

WHEREAS there have lately been passed by the British Parliament several oppressive Acts tending to obstruct the impartial Administration of Justice, destroy the Constitution, and introduce Slavery instead of Liberty, among the People; also to introduce Popery in some Parts of the British America, we do therefore solemnly Declare, that we will never accept of, or take a Deputation from any Sheriff, who is or may be appointed in conformity to said Acts; and that we will never Act or Execute any Business in Conformity to said Acts. Witness our Hands at *Sandwich*, the 3d Day of Oct. 1774.

Nath. Freeman, }
Seth Freeman. } Witnesses.

EDWD. BOURN.
JOB HOWLAND.

The Confession of the Destroyers of Liberty Pole in
SANDWICH.

Messieurs PRINTERS,

As a warning to other Villains to avoid the like iniquitous Practices, please to Publish the following. Y^{rs}. A. Z.

WHEREAS we the Subscribers have most Wickedly, Maliciously and Injuriouly, (being instigated by the Devil and our own evil Hearts) Destroyed the Liberty Pole in SANDWICH, in the Night of the 26th Day of *September* current, whereby we have justly offended all the Friends of Liberty, Justice and Virtue, and have discovered our Enmity to the Rights and Liberties of the People: — We do therefore hereby humbly confess that we did the Fact and our hearty Sorrow and Shame for it, and do Promise never to do so any more, or any more to oppose the Cause of Liberty, and we do humbly ask Forgiveness of the Town of *Sandwich* and of all Men and especially of the People who erected said Pole. — As Witness our Hands this 28th Day of *Sept.* A. D. 1774.

Joseph Otis, }
Nath. Freeman, } Witnesses.
Saml. Freeman, }

BENJ. FISH,
BENJ. TOBY,
JOHN JENNINGS.¹

Upon Signing the above Declaration, which was to be Publish'd, and paying the Sum of Five Pounds Lawful Money, Damages, the above Offenders were forgiven — Since which a New and very beautiful Pole is erected in said Town.

Doct. BOURN's Recantation as a Tea Seller.

SANDWICH, Octob. 5, 1774.

WHEREAS I the Subscriber, contrary to the general Sentiments of the Community expressed in a great Variety of Ways, and in defiance of the Prohibition of the People, the Source of all Power and Authority, have continued the Sale of Teas, a practice under the present Situation of Things not only Injurious but Fatal to the Liberties and most important Interests of America, to make all the Atonement in my Power, I declare my hearty Sorrow for and Detestation of the aforesaid iniquitous Conduct, and solemnly Promise that for

¹ Benjamin Fish, Benjamin Toby, and John Jennings are Freeman's G. H., I. J., and K. L., respectively (History, i. 447, 449, 451).

the future I will not Purchase or Sell any India Teas howsoever Imported, till a final decision of the Controversy between Great-Britain and the Colonies, but will in all Respects behave as a good Citizen and an inviolate Friend to the Cause of Liberty and my Country.

BENJA. BOURN.¹

BARNSTABLE, October 21, 1774.

WHEREAS Application hath this Day been made to us, Field Officers of the Militia, in the County of Barnstable, by certain Gentlemen said to be a Committee appointed by the Body of the People for this Purpose, to desire us to resign our respective Commissions in the Militia:— We the Subscribers do hereby solemnly promise and declare, that we will immediately transmit the Resignation of our respective Commissions to the Governor or Captain General of the Province; and do engage that we will not hold, or ever after this accept any Commission under any unconstitutional Regulation, or any unconstitutional Officers, or in Consequence of the late oppressive Acts of the British Parliament.

As Witness our Hands, &c.

*David Gorham,
Edward Bacon,
Shearjashub Bourn.*

BARNSTABLE, October 22, 1774.

WHEREAS Application hath this Day been made to me the Subscriber, an Officer in Col. David Gorham's Regiment, in the County of Barnstable, by certain Gentlemen, said to be a Committee appointed by the Body of the People for this Purpose, to desire me to resign my Commission in the Militia:— I do therefore hereby solemnly promise and declare that I will immediately transmit my Resignation of my Commission to Col. David Gorham; and I do engage that I will not take any Commission under any unconstitutional Regulations, or in Consequence of the late oppressive Acts of the British Parliament,

As Witness my Hand,

STURGES GORHAM.

BARNSTABLE, October 7, 1774

WHEREAS Application hath this Day been made to us, Officers of the Militia in the County of Barnstable, by certain Gentlemen said to be a Committee appointed by the body of the People for that Purpose, to desire us to resign our respective Commissions in the Militia:— We the Subscribers

¹ Benjamin Bourne is Freeman's W. X. (History, i. 452).

The identity of several persons to whom Freeman assigned letters escapes detection. A confession was drawn up to be signed by A. B. of Barnstable, who had threatened to cut down the liberty pole, but he could not be found (History, i. 437, 439, 441, 443). M. N., who was accused of saying he wished Boston was burned and Rochester in hell, "confessed that he had said words to this effect in a *passion*, expressed sorrow, and asked forgiveness of all. This gave satisfaction" (History, i. 448-449). O. P. and Q. R. were apparently concerned in cutting down the liberty pole in Sandwich; Q. R., "being the witness that informed and exposed the transaction, was excused;" what became of O. P. is not stated (History, i. 449-450). Y. Z. was one of those who made an assault on Dr. Nathaniel Freeman (History, i. 456, 461).

do therefore hereby solemnly promise and declare, that we will immediately transmit the Resignation of our respective Commissions to the Governor and Captain General of the Province, or to our respective Chief Colonel, to be by him transmitted to the Governor; and do engage that we will not any longer hold, or ever after this accept any Commissions under any unconstitutional Regulations, or under any unconstitutional Officers, or in Conformity to, or in Consequence of the late oppressive Acts of the British Parliament.

As Witness our Hands, &c.

ANTHONY THATCHER, *Lieutenant*.

JETHRO THATCHER, *Ensign*.

MICAH HAMBLÉN, *ditto*.

JACOB LOVEL, *ditto*.

JOSIAH HAMBLÉN, *Captain*.

DANIEL CROCKER, *ditto*.

JOSEPH BLISK,¹ *jun. Lieutenant*.

In the discussion which followed the reading of this paper, Mr. GEORGE P. ANDERSON made the following remarks:

The picture of the struggle between loyalist and patriot groups in Barnstable makes it clear that the loyalists spurned advances made by the Committee of Correspondence of Boston. This organization from the time of its creation in November, 1772, until the actual outbreak of the Revolution, was the backbone of the Boston opposition to the crown authorities. The three members of that committee whom Edward Bacon singled out as being the vilest of men — namely, William Molineux, William Dennie, and Dr. Thomas Young — were three of its most active and militant members. The chairman of that committee, James Otis, the orator, was the son of James Otis of Barnstable, and in criticizing this committee Bacon trod on dangerous ground. It will be observed that he was obliged to retract that part of his criticism which applied to Otis. He even admitted that some members of the committee were good men, but he named the three before mentioned members as being especially vile.

Bacon's opinion of the committee was no more harsh than that of Governor Hutchinson, who, in a letter to former Governor Thomas Pownall dated November 13, 1772, described it "as in part composed of 'deacons,' 'atheists,' and 'black-hearted fellows whom one would not choose to meet in the dark.'"² Bacon, we are told, often

¹ An error for "Blish."

² W. V. Wells, *Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams*, i. 497.

took his cue from Hutchinson, and apparently he concurred in the Governor's estimate of the character of the committee. With this difference, however, Bacon was specific, while Hutchinson was general.

Of these three men Dr. Young probably was the one described as an atheist, although he was not in fact an atheist but a Deist and would be described in terms of modern theology as a Unitarian. In his day, however, some of his enemies charged him with being an atheist,¹ but the Doctor's life and conduct marked him merely as a liberal in theological matters. It is possible that the reference to the atheist applied to Molineux, and Dr. Young in that case would be the one described as never going to meeting. It is quite certain that Dr. Young while living in Boston never attended church. In early life he was a Presbyterian. The Doctor's private life was above reproach, so the reference to incontinence does not apply to him. As to this charge of incontinence for one of the three, if there is no more substance behind it than can be found to support the other two charges, it can safely be disregarded. Whatever their religious views or private life may have been, all three men — Molineux, Young, and Dennie — were as sound patriots as were Adams, Warren, or Hancock. They were, of course, considerably less prominent.

In this connection it is interesting to quote from an article on tea drinking written by Dr. Thomas Young in which he speaks of Barnstable. He says in that article:

I Observe that in the Political Essays in the Papers concerning TEA, it is commonly called by the names of *pernicious drug*, *baleful Weed*, &c. It is doubtless by some people believed that these epithets are thrown out barely to dissuade people from buying it, that the tribute imposed upon it may by that means be diminished or perhaps annihilated. But the sober truth is, that Tea is really a slow poison. . . . Every one knows the tremor of the nerves, induced by it on young and studious persons, who drink it strong. The inhabitants of the Town of Barnstable have been noted for an extravagant use of it, & perhaps there is not in the Province a like number of persons affected with

¹ A political skit on "Massachusetts Faith," printed in the Boston Evening Post of April 19, 1773, has these words: "And to compleat our Creed, we are bound to believe that . . . Dr. Y——g is a Saint and true Believer" (p. 1/1).

nervous and consumptive disorders. Mr. Bourne,¹ a gentleman of the Law in that Town, informed me that from the effects of the Tea on his own person he suspected it of a corrosive quality: To determine this, he made a strong infusion of it, and filling a vial with it he immersed a ten penny nail in the liquor, and in less than a month found the nail nearly dissolved. Tissot, Short, and other eminent writers notice that since its introduction into Europe the whole face of disease is changed. . . .

I was knowing to an able farmer's wife in the town² I was born in, whose ambition to ape high life, prompted her to drink Tea so strong and unmixed, that in three or four years she lost the use of her limbs, and died in a miserable condition. Her case was remarked by every one, and universally ascribed to the Tea. I have myself been rheumatically affected from my infancy, and in special at the annual changes of spring and autumn had defluxions on the jaws, teeth or other parts, till the Tea became politically poisoned, and then however much I admired it, leaving it totally off I have gained a firmness of constitution unexperienced before from my infancy. My substitute is chamomile flowers. Any thing agreeable, and meerly harmless must excel a real poison.³

This article by Dr. Young was printed about seven weeks before the Boston Tea Party occurred. It is said that both Dr. Young and Mr. Molineux participated in the actual throwing overboard of the tea. This may be true, but it is certain that Dr. Young was one of the speakers at the Old South Meeting House the afternoon of December 16, 1773, when the fate of the tea was being considered. It is possible, of course, that after speaking, knowing what was about to happen, he hurried to Griffin's wharf and assisted in the destruction of the tea.

Dr. Young closes the article on tea, which already has been quoted, with these words:

If every one duly considered these obvious and important truths, there need be little anxiety among the Sons of Liberty to prevent the landing or sale of the expected Tea: for it would be of little importance whether it rotted in warehouses on this or the other side the atlantic.

What Dr. Young says about tea drinking in Barnstable in pre-Revolutionary times fits into Admiral Bowles's vivid picture of

¹ Perhaps Melatiah Bourne (1722-1778).

² New Windsor, N. Y.

³ Boston Evening Post, October 25, 1773, p. 2/2.

Barnstable as a town in which loyalists were in control, or nearly in control. His letter was written about six months after the Committee of Correspondence had made its application to Barnstable for coöperation, and received a rebuff. Patriots would not drink tea, but loyalists would, and when Dr. Young spoke of the town as being noted for the extravagant use of tea, he was adroitly calling attention to the fact that Barnstable was loyalist in its trend.

Mr. WORTHINGTON C. FORD read the following paper:

THE CASE OF REV. JOSIAH BAXTER

In 1656 the colony of Massachusetts Bay passed a law intended to cope with what the authorities believed a dangerous attack upon the state — the coming of Quakers. Even before that time the magistrates and clergy had acted vigorously against any person or combination which showed a restiveness under the too rigid rules of church organization and church doctrine they had laid down. The record is not a pleasant one to read and full use has been made of it by critics and historians of New England. The period of persecution lasted for nearly two generations, and gave rise to many situations, here and in England, which need not be touched on in this place. New England gained an unlovely repute for her cruelty and the dark side of such a reputation is drawn darker than was deserved. In proof of this the following incident may be given.

In 1673 there appeared in London a tract of six pages with the title:

Mr. Baxter Baptiz'd in Bloud, or, a sad History of the Unparall'd Cruelty of the Anabaptists in New-England. Faithfully Relating the Cruel, Barbarous, and Bloudy Murther of Mr. Baxter an Orthodox Minister, who was kill'd by the Anabaptists, and his Skin most cruelly flead off from his Body. With An Exact Account of all the Circumstances and Particularities of this barbarous Murther. Published by his mournfull Brother Benjamin Baxter Living in Fen-Church-Street, London. With Allowance. London, Printed in the Year, 1673.

That reads fair enough. It was only natural for a brother to have the interest to publish an event so near to him, and confidence follows his giving his full name and London residence. The words

"With Allowance" suggested that the matter had been submitted to the official censors of the press and had been properly licensed, as was the fact.

The writer of the tract opens with a general paragraph on persecution and at once plunges into the case in hand. Josiah Baxter in 1661 went to Virginia on the invitation of some Virginia merchants under a desire to be a worker in the vineyard there, effecting some good upon the Indians as well as upon the white settlers. After living eleven years in that colony he found that his health was affected and thought of removing, "especially seeing he had such a fair opportunity as the most courteous and loving Invitation of M. T. M. G. and M. O. very considerable Merchants in *New-England*, and his ancient and intimate Friends and Acquaintance."¹ In 1672 he with his wife and family left Virginia and settled himself in a solitary house about a mile and a half distant from Boston. He was received by the good people of Boston and his region with all the kindness and tenderness imaginable.

His learning, diligent preaching and great zeal made him acceptable to all good Christians, but all was not smooth to the new comer. Before many months had passed he understood that there was —

a notorious Sectarian by name *Richard Batt* (who formerly had been a Taylor in *Coventry*, but some two years after the happy Restauration of his Majesty, under pretence of a tender Conscience he left *Coventry*, and came to *New-England*.) This *Batt* was a fellow of a prodigious confidence, a good wit, a voluble tongue, and an insinuating carriage and comportment.

Baxter, recognizing him as a moral danger, determined to oppose this son of Belial and preached roundly against the Anabaptists. His language was not particularly nice, saying, for example, that the waters wherein Batt dipt his followers were not the pure waters of Jordan, but the "stinking and prophane waters of *Egypt* wherein none but *Babylons* children were dip't and prophan'd." This showed imagination, for Batt and Baxter drew their waters from the same, but their interpretations from widely differing sources. As to Anabaptists as a whole, Baxter's denunciation was as whole hearted as could be desired. More than that he was aggressive and hungered

¹ Page 2.

to convert these misbelievers. He challenged Batt to a public dispute and conference, but Batt somewhat truthfully held that such disputes and debates were unprofitable, nor were they sanctioned by Scripture, and, in any event, tended to incense Christians one against the other. He suggested that more could be gained by an endeavor for peace and mutual love, by every man enjoying the liberty of his conscience. Baxter could not admit the reasonableness of such a suggestion, pressed for a dispute and obtained it, most learnedly confuting by unanswerable arguments deduced from Holy Scripture the tenets of Batt on infant baptism — that most profitable subject of controversy, profitable, that is, to those intent upon forcing a fight. We are asked to believe that the overthrow of the Anabaptists was so complete that many brought their children to be baptized by Baxter. Cheered by his success that zealous servant of the Lord pressed his advantage and denounced the Anabaptists and all their works in comminatory terms. War and not peace was his aim. He got what he wanted. What followed I give in the words of the tract.

On *Feb.* the 4th about 11. of the clock in the fore-noon there came four Ruffians to *Mr. Baxters* house (the solitariness of the house gave too much opportunity to these hellish Designs;) They had vizors upon their faces; as soon as they were entered, they severely charg'd them under pain of death not to cry out, or cause any disturbance: hereupon they bound *Mrs. Baxter* and her three daughters (for this was all *Mr. Baxters* family.) When they had done this, they went to *Mr. Baxter*, and rudely tore the clothes from his back, when he was stript they most cruelly whipt him. Then they told him he must die. He desired some time for prayer, and also that he might be permitted the liberty to speak to his wife and children before he died. All which they deny'd, and told him that 'twas in vain for him to pray, or think on heaven, for that was a place appointed for the Elect, but he was a vile Reprobate, and from eternity destin'd to damnation. You are, said they, a most wicked villain and have done much hurt in these parts, your sins cry to heaven for vengeance, & God has sent us to punish you; you have been an Incendiary, you have endeavour'd to persecute good men with fire and faggot; you have been a most bitter persecutor of Gods servants, who have left their native Country for their Conscience, these poor souls you have persecuted to death, you must therefore for these ungodly practices submit your self to Justice. When they had said

these words, like so many Hell-hounds, they most barbarously fell upon this innocent Lamb, and with knives cut open his belly, and violently tore off his skin from his body. And when this holy Martyr by reason of his torments cryed out in a most dreadful manner, they said, 'twas excellent Musick. One of them said, now the Rascal is urging the point against the *Baptists*. When they had perpetrated this most execrable villany they fled. Oh! what a sad house is here? The Good man is flead alive, bleeding and crying out in the midst of his anguish and pain, the house swimming in blood, the wife and children bound, and roaring out to see this poor Martyr wallowing in his blood, and they not able to afford him any assistance. Things continued in this doleful posture until three of the clock in the evening: and then by a signal providence one *Thomas Smith* of *Boston* came to the house, he unbound *Mrs. Baxter* and her three daughters. The youngest of the three was so consternated with horror, that she fell into *Convulsion-fits*, and dyed the next day. About six of the clock at night this holy Martyr dyed, and was carried to *Abrahams bosome*. And this is a full sad Account of this mans sufferings and martyrdom for his Zeal for the true Religion.

The Murtherers are not yet found, but we hope that heaven will not let such horrid villainies goe unpunish'd long. The Anabaptists were examin'd, but did deny the Fact, and have since publisht a Writing, endeavouring thereby to perswade the world of their Innocence, and that this Fact was done by the *Indians*. But 'tis utterly improbable, that these Assassines were *Indians*, for had they been strangers, what needed any disguise? And 'tis more than probable, that they were some of *M. Batts* party by their reproachful words to *M. Baxter*: And this is the general opinion of *New-England*. The Widdow and her daughters were forthwith removed, and kindly entertain'd at the Ministers house, until further care is taken of them.

That reads like a straight story, much such a story as may be found in newspapers of to-day when the doings of the K. K. K. are related. It so happens that there was a Batt family in Boston and at this very time Timothy Batt was a tailor there, son of a Christopher Batt who in 1638 had come from Salisbury, Wiltshire, not Coventry, as the tract stated of its Anabaptist Batt, also a tailor. No clergyman named Baxter is given by Savage, but that authority is not final. Smith is a safe name to use, attached to any surname. The account is worked up with reportorial skill, and details are skilfully introduced, such as the publication of a disclaimer by the alleged attackers. The only weak points are the nature of the crime — that

is, the flaying of the victim — the possibility of such an Indian or other outbreak so near to Boston, and the assumption that Anabaptists were so numerous or vindictive as to perpetrate such a monstrous crime. A Londoner, and it was written for Londoners, could not be expected to know that Indians had long ceased to be a menace to Boston; nor would he know that the presence of an Anapabtist in Massachusetts was as welcome as that of the arch enemy of man — perhaps even less so; for church and state — the keys and the sword, to use the phrase of the day — believed themselves capable of keeping the Devil at a respectful distance, while they confessed the greater difficulties of meeting the more immediate presence of a hostile human agent, active or passive.

The pamphlet appeared in London about May, 1673, and gave occasion to a reply entitled:

Forgery Detected, and Innocency Vindicated. Being A faithful Account of the seasonable Discovery of an Horrid and Detestible Slander raised on the Anabaptists of New-England, in that Diabolical Pamphlet, entituled, Mr. Baxter baptiz'd in Blood; designing so maliciously the Reproach and Exposure of all under that Denomination. . . . London, Printed by J. D. For Fr. Smith at the Elephant and Castle in Cornhil, near the Royal Exchange, and at the same Sign first Shop without Temple-Bar, 1673.

It exposes the falsity of the relation and the details are not without interest. A Lawrence Savill asserted that Benjamin Baxter in March "insinuated into" his acquaintance on Grays Inn Walks and a coffee-house in Holborn, and seemed an ingenious person, a good scholar and an orthodox member of the church of England. Hating the Anabaptists he violently harangued against them and had composed a history of the sect, the publication of which he offered to Savill and held out a promise of a profit of no less than one hundred pounds from the book. What followed must be told in Savill's words, for it would be unkind to paraphrase so good a version of the old, old confidence game.

So the Business was concluded, and I every Day expected this Elaborate Work for the Press. I saw him no more for eight Dayes together (at which I much wondred) but one Evening at Grays-Inn I met him in a most heavy and disconsolate Condition: after I had prest him to discourse the Causes of his Grief, he told me his Sorrows

were unexpressible, that his dear Brother that was formerly gone to *Virginia* he heard was kill'd by the *Anabaptists*; and then in a great Passion he flung me three Letters, and bad me read them; He said he was resolved to immortalize the Fact, and let it stand for ever as an Eternal Memorial against that Party. I was much troubled at the sad Fate of his Brother, and so we parted. Some three Dayes after we met again, and then he shewed me the Copy of this Pamphlet, and told me he came just then from *Lambeth*, and that Doctor *Parker* had Licensed it, for (said he) I shewed Doctor *Parker* the three Letters, and could not forbear Weeping. Could you your self have doubted of the reality of the business, if you had seen the License to it, his Tears and passionate expressions, and also the three Letters? So at last I condescended to do it. The next day I went to Mr. *Darby*, and desired him to print it; he took a view of the Copy, and said he was not satisfied of the truth of it: But he would recommend me to a Cavalier Printer (as he expressed it) in *Jewen-Street*, who would readily perform the business. I deferred the publishing for seven or eight dayes, expecting to hear some Objection against it, but meeting not with any, I published it. Mr. *Baxter* constantly met me every day, and always urged the expedite and sudden publication of the Narrative. I told him it was coming forth. He told me I should command what money I desired, for this and several other Books he had to come forth. I replied, that none was wanting yet, but when it was printed, the Printer was to be paid. Upon *May* 15 I shewed him a proof-sheet; he said he was glad the business was so forward, he would go to the Goldsmith to Morrow; for, said he, that will be soon enough for the Printer; But in the mean time, sayes he, pray let me have 4 or 5 Guineys till to Morrow. I told him I had not so much about me, but what I had he should have: So I let him have 40 s. So we parted. The next Day I expected him, but he came no more, neither have I ever seen or heard from him since.

Formerly when I asked him concerning his Lodging; he said he lived in *Fen-Church-street*, but he was seldom at home, and it was impossible for me to meet with him: He said he was an Attorney, and had good imployment that way. Thus has this Fellow put me upon a business, and now unworthily deserted me. And now I begin too late to perceive him either to be a Cheat, or to be grosly cheated and gull'd with false Letters; . . . unless Baxter appears in his own Defence, and pay me the Mony I lent him, I shall certainly conclude him a Cheat.

What is noticeable is the prompt exposure of Savill's agency in the publication, for he had shown a proof sheet to the supposed Baxter on the fifteenth of the month and within a period of five

days the pamphlet was in print and Savill discovered. Other evidence had providentially been obtained, even more direct on the incident. A vessel from New England, the *Blossom of Boston*, sailing more than twenty days after the supposed murder, would be expected to bring information of so shocking an occurrence. But Richard Martin, the master of the ship, and Henry Mountfort a merchant of Boston, testified that they had for years lived in or near Boston but had never heard of a minister named Josiah Baxter, or of disputes with the Anabaptists, or of the murder, and they characterized the pamphlet as "an absolute Pamphlet, and a very great falsehood." This affidavit, made May 21, led the Lord Mayor "not only to interdict the vending the said scandalous Pamphlet, but to seize it in the hands of the *Hawkers* and *Mercuries* that sold the same, and to suppress a second Impression thereof in the Press, committing also to Prison several of the Publishers."

Not content with that the officers of the two Wards in which Fen-Church-street lay — Aldgate and Langbourne Wards — instituted an enquiry and church wardens, overseers and beadles certified on May 27 that no such man as Benjamin Baxter "doth or hath within our memory lived" in the wards named. It is true they did find a William Baxter, a packer, living in Fen-Church-street, but he roundly declared that he never had a brother at Virginia or New-England, had never heard of Josiah Baxter, a minister, and knew nothing of the story, its writing or its publication.

Armed with this letter and certificate those interested in disproving the story carried the matter to the Privy Council. Dr. Parker admitted his mistake and "too sudden Credulity" in licensing so strange a pamphlet, but said, in explanation, that Savill in applying for a license "did really produce to the Licenser Letters and Testimonials under the hands (as he pretended) of several Persons in New-England," giving the particular circumstances and asserting the truth of them. The Council, on May 30, or fifteen days after Savill had shown to Baxter the proof-sheet of the tract, found the whole matter "altogether False and Fictitious." In poetic justice the same Dr. Parker licensed this second tract, June 5, 1673. Its publisher, sometimes known as "Elephant" Smith from his place of business and sign, sought to make profit from the matter. For he advertised to the reader:

That since the detestible *Pamphlet* hath so designed, not only to reproch and villifie the Professors of Baptism by this his villanous attempt, but the Profession it self also, as guilty of much Ignorance, Wickedness and Sacrilegious Impiety; He hereby signifies to the impartial Reader, that if he desires Information into the Principle or Practice of that reproached Truth, he can furnish him with most of the judicious Treatises written upon that Subject, and amongst them of most Note,

The learned Treatises of Mr. *John Tombes*.

The Works of Mr. *Samuel Fisher*, in Folio.

A judicious Piece, by *Henry Lawrence*, Esq.

And a Treatise of Baptism, by *H. D* [anvers] (lately come forth) wherein that of *Believers* and that of *Infants* is examined by the Scriptures. With the History of both out of Antiquity.

Which suggests that the whole plan and execution may have been devised to further the sale of works on infant baptism—a publisher's "blurb" of an early date. Boston was the victim in reputation.

At the Annual Meeting in November Mr. WILLIAM C. LANE exhibited two manuscripts connected with the Harvard Commencement of 1759. One, the original manuscript of the Salutatory Oration spoken by Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut, a member of the graduating class; and the other, the text of Paine Wingate's defence of the thesis assigned him, "*Calor est de essentia Lucis*." On behalf of Mr. Lane, the following remarks were communicated:

Jonathan Trumbull of 1759, the son of Governor Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut who had graduated from Harvard in 1727, was himself afterwards a member of the State Senate, aide-de-camp and secretary to Washington during the Revolutionary War, a member of Congress from 1789 to 1795, United States Senator in 1795-1796, Lieutenant Governor and Governor of Connecticut from 1796 to 1809. The Latin Salutatory, which opened the Commencement exercises in those days as it still does to-day, was of much the same character as the present performance. The first paragraphs of Trumbull's oration deal with the debt of gratitude which the student owes to his parents and teachers, especially to the latter as "*animorum nostrorum parentibus*." He greets the President (Edward Holyoke)

in affectionate terms, he salutes the "Professores Hollisianos," the two Hollis professors, Edward Wigglesworth and John Winthrop, being the only professors in the College; he addresses the "Tutores Academiae dignissimi" and in particular Domine Kneeland, under whose instruction in all departments the class of 1759 had been placed for more than a year. He pays his respects to the Magistrates and holds forth good advice to his fellow-students or Juniores Sophistae. It is to be noticed that he has nothing to say to the "puellae" in the audience, though there is evidence that they had not been passed over on other occasions, for the Overseers on May 6, 1760, condemned the "practice . . . of addressing the female sex in the orations on commencement days" as "exceptionable and improper."¹ Owing to the resignation of one of the other tutors, William Symmes, the class of 1759 enjoyed the somewhat uncommon experience of having been taught by two teachers during its college course, by William Symmes from 1755 to the spring of 1758 and by William Kneeland from the spring of 1758 to the summer of 1759.

Trumbull returned three years later when the master's degree was conferred on members of his class and delivered the Valedictory Oration which in accordance with custom closed the Commencement exercises. Two letters from President Holyoke, one inviting and the other urging him to deliver the Valedictory, are in the Harvard Library and were printed in our Publications.²

The other parts delivered at the Commencement of 1759, all of them in Latin, were in defence of the following theses:

Omne quod est Intellectu prius fuit in Sensu.

Calor est de essentia Lucis.

Non datur Astrologia judiciaria.

Historia Creationis mosaica Terram solum modo spectat.

Gradus meridianorum terrestrium caelestibus respondentium sunt inaequales.

The brief manuscript of what was said in regard to the second subject is preserved in the Harvard Library and was delivered by Paine Wingate, another member of the class to achieve distinction

¹ Cf. our Publications, xviii. 349.

² x. 417-418.

in later life, being member of Congress in 1787 and again from 1793 to 1795, a United States Senator from 1789 to 1793, and a Judge of the Superior Court of New Hampshire from 1798 to May, 1809. The text of his defence shows that the corpuscular theory of light was still accepted; it takes for granted that the heat which was considered an essential of light was developed by the rapid motion of the particles of light. It is an arid piece of reasoning cast in arbitrary logical form, worth printing only as an illustration of how Commencement theses were treated.

On the sheet of Commencement theses the names of the students who spoke the parts delivered in the presence of the company are never recorded, so that it is only by accident, as in this instance, that they are known. Few of these early Commencement parts have been preserved; it is a curious coincidence that two of those delivered in 1759 should have found their way to the Library — Trumbull's, given anonymously by a Yale alumnus who bought it at the Sturges sale in New York in January, 1923, and Wingate's, presented by the New York book dealer, Walter R. Benjamin, in 1901. The letters from President Holyoke to Trumbull mentioned above were given to the Library in 1905 by Grosvenor S. Hubbard of New York, a great-grandson of Governor Trumbull.

The only other papers of the same kind which I have found in the archives of the University are the Latin Salutatory of 1703, copied out by President Leverett (in two volumes labelled "Discourses") with sermons of his own and orations by Nathaniel Rogers, Urian Oakes, Samuel Whiting, and others,¹ the Latin Valedictory of 1736, the English Salutatory Oration of 1796, and the Valedictory of 1799, the last two both by Leonard Woods of the class of 1796. John Davis's Poetical Essay delivered at Commencement in 1781 is well known. Apparently many copies were made of it, there being no less than four that have found their way into the College archives.

The oration and the defence of the thesis follow:

I

Cursu nostro literato non infeliciter (ut sperem) confecto, Socij mei charissimi Sensu, quo decet, Beneficiorum, quæ a Vobis, Harvardinates,

¹ Cf. our Publications, xviii. 326 note 1.

acceperunt, meo Ore, Ritus hosce annuos grati jam perficere exoptant. Atq: illud mihi lætandum Jure esse puto quod Officium Academiæ tale sum expleturus, quale ipsa imponeret Gratitude et vendicaret; in quo Oratio Nemini haud ingrato ullo Modo deesse potest: non enim jam necesse est ut Vultus fingam, et blandis utar Verbis aut Gestibus adulatoriis, sat erit si simplices, sinceros Animi Sensus exprimam.

Nemo fere est aut a Pietate tam remotus, qui non confiteatur sui non potis esse Parentibus Gratias Beneficiis Meritisq: eorum pares referre: aut tam ingratus qui habere saltem et reddere quantas possit maximas non cupiat.

Multa quidem et magna sunt quæ a Parentibus in Liberos Beneficia fiunt, verum si non paria non longe certe inferiora sunt ea quæ a Doctoribus nostris in Nos Conferuntur quotidie. — Parentes sunt Vitæ nostræ Auctores: Doctores non solum ut vivamus, verum etiam laudabiliter honeste beatq: vivamus efficiunt. Parentes magnis Laboribus Opes Nobis acquirunt ac relinquunt: Doctores aptos monstrant et idoneos earum Usus. Et (ut multa paucis comprehendam) cuncta alia quæ a Parentibus Bona Nobis relinquuntur, aut aliunde acquiruntur, ejusmodi sunt, ut Doctrina si desit et Eruditio parum vel nihil prosunt.

Horum recordantes, Viris honorandis hujus Academiæ Doctoribus, Animorum nostrorum Parentibus, Gratias non quidem quantas debemus sed quantas possumus jam agere velimus.

Tibi vero imprimis, Præses reverende plurimum et honorande, Salutationes et Gratiarum Actiones nostræ Jure debentur. Accipias, quæsumus, gratâ Mansuetudinis tuæ memoriâ exortas. Institutionem tuam gravem et constantem mitem tamen et blandem uno Ore agnoscimus. Memoriam tuam charissimam semper colemus: de Beneficiis a te acceptis nunquam tacebimus: prospera omnia tibi de Cælo unde derivantur nunquam non precabimur. Tecum, Vir reverendissime, Filiâ dilectâ et amabili orbato condolemus. Valetudinem tuam istâ Afflictione acerbâ labefactam confirmet optimus ille et maximus Deus cui tam flagranti Studio servis. Diu vivas Academiæ in Honorem et post longam et placidam Senectutem, ad Præmia boni et fidelis Servi a Domino tuo et nostrum omnium Immortalitate exultans admittaris.

Vos proximo Professores hollisianos salutat Oratio — Viri docti et politi salvete — quos omni Laude ac Honore dignos et habemus semperq: sumus habituri. Exultant omnes qui de Ingeniis et Doctrinâ aliquid judicare possunt, quiq: fausta Academiæ precantur, dum Amicorum ejus Munificentiam in Viros tam bene meritos fæliciter adeo collatam vident; qui Creationis Leges et naturales et morales Laboribus indefessis investigatis inventasq: explicatis. Diu vivatis ambo et vale-

atis, Matri huic nostrae totiq: adeo Literarum Reipublicæ Ornamenta vix non illustrissima, et in Cælum, O *serius*, evehamini Gaudium universale dispargentes.

Vos quoque, Tutores Academiæ dignissimi, nostra jam salutat Oratio, Vobisq: sinceræ agit Gratias pro Beneficiis in Nos collatis debitas. Pergatis Viri docti ut antehac Reipublicæ inservire, in excolendis solitâ vestrâ Diligentiâ Juvenum Ingeniis. Et (quod Vos ipsi maximum Laborum judicaretis Fructum) vestris Præceptis formatos vestrisq: Exemplis excitatos Juvenes, Viros doctos bonosq: Cives & regiæ Majestati fideles Subditos hinc egressos videatis.

Tibi vero precipue, Domine Kneeland, Salutationes nostræ debentur. Annum paulo plus te audientes in docendo facilem perspicuum et familiarem invenimus, in Reprehensionibus blandem novimus et mansuetum. Per plurimos Nos tibi devinxisti, quorum Memoriam in Animis nostris infixam nulla unquam delebit Oblivio; Te Observantiâ et Æstimatione debitâ semper prosequemur.

Vobis quoq: Viri magistrali Gradu ornati, Vobisq: Baccalaurei, qui nostrum hocce Solenne presentes exornatis Salutem quam plurimam dicimus.

Vos juniores Sophistæ cæteriq:, qui in hoc Cursu Literarum Juvenes versamini, quorumq: Consuetudine suavi ac jucundâ usi fuimus, fraterno jam Amore et Voluntate benevolâ quâ nos semper prosecuti estis, compellamus; eandem hanc Benevolentiam cum ex Academiâ egressi fuerimus mutuam spondeamus. Interea Literis tali Vos Studio incumbatis quali consueverint ij qui sibiipsis Honori; Parentibus Gaudio; Sanguine junctis Voluptati; aliis Reiquepublicæ toti Usui magno Emolumentoq: esse cupiant. Studiis nobiscum ardentibus enitamini, ut Doctrinâ, Moribus inculpatis, Vitæque Claritate, Academiæ inserviamus Existimationi et efficiamus ut illa, que adhuc Lux Nov. Angliæ fulsit, non Modo non extinguatur, sed auctis eluceat Splendoribus.

Vale Præses reverende et honorande.

Valete Vos Professores ac Tutores dignissimi.

Tuq: præcipue Tutor noster amande.

Vobis omnibus deniq: Auditores, reverendi et honorandi, docti et amandi, jam valedicimus, et Salutem Fælicitatemq: et presentem et æternam vovemus.

Dixi 29^{mo} Junij 1759.

II

Calor est de Essentia Lucis.

Probatur

Calor cum sit Terminus relativus, et Corpus Calidum et frigidum sit eodem Tempore, Respectu ad Corpora Calore discrepantia, nostrum est,

quid volumus per Calorem imprimis enuntiare. Per Calorem in Questione accipimus quendam Caloris Gradum, in respectu ad extremum frigiditatis gradum; In hoc sensu Vocis Igitur Questionem sic definimus. Existentiam Caloris in omni particula Lucis ad eam constituendam talem Qualis est, esse necessariam, ad Veritatem Propositionis sic definitæ perspicuam reddendam; sequentia sunt Consideranda. — Quod Calor ad Constituendas Lucis pa[r]ticulas tales Quales sunt, est necessarius, Manifestum est. Nisi separari possit ab Istis Particulis sine lucidæ Qualitatis Particularum istarum Destructione. aliter id Quo sublato Res existere Nequit ad Constituendam Rem talem qualis est. Non est Necessarium, Quod Manifeste falsum est. at Calor ab Istis particulis sine Lucidæ Qualitatis istarum particularum Destructione seperari Nequit. Si particulæ Lucis sine lucidæ Qualitatis particularum istarum Destructione Non possunt esse ad extremum Gradum frigidæ; Necesse est enim particulas Lucis quodam modo Calidas esse in respectu ad extremum gradum frigiditatis aut frigidæ ad extremum gradum. at particulæ lucis sine lucidæ Qualitatis particularum istarum Destructione non possunt esse ad extremum gradum frigidæ. Particulæ enim Lucis a Velocitate pro sua lucida Qualitate omnino pendent, et hæcce Velocitas Quendam Caloris gradum In respectu ad extremum frigiditatis gradum necessario producit. Quod Calor est solummodo Effectum ex Velocitate Particularum Calidi Corporis oriens et augmentatione Velocitatis particularum istarum, istas particulas fieri lucidas, a frequenti Observatione est Manifestum. — Atque Igitur Ubicunque sit talis Velocitas particularum. Ibi erit quidam Caloris Gradus in respectu ad extremum frigiditatis gradum. hisce premissis concludere possumus, Calorem esse de Essentia Lucis.

NOTE

In June, 1779, Edward Bacon asked for a delay and that Joseph Nye and Solomon *Freeman* of Harwich be appointed to take depositions, adding that "those Gentlemen were agreed on and appointed the Last Winter in the Same affair" (p. 332, above). The reference is to the action of the House on January 13, 1779, when Joseph Nye, Jr., and Solomon *Otis* of Harwich were appointed (House Journal, p. 96; quoted in full in note 4, pp. 273-274, above). There was apparently no Solomon *Otis* at Harwich. Solomon *Otis* of Barnstable is several times mentioned (pp. 308, 322, 337, 341, above), but he died January 2, 1778 (*Freeman*, *History of Cape Cod*, ii. 317). The person appointed was unquestionably Solomon *Freeman* (see pp. 297, 306 note, 309, 310, 319, 321, 333, above). No doubt the error in the Journal was due to unconscious cerebration, the scribe writing Solomon *Otis* because the name of Joseph *Otis* occurred in the previous sentence. — EDITOR.

JANUARY MEETING, 1924

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 24 January, 1924, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from the Rt. Rev. CHARLES LEWIS SLATTERY and Mr. FRANK BREWER BEMIS, accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. FREDERIC WINTHROP of Hamilton, Mr. EDWARD MOTLEY PICKMAN of Billerica, Mr. BENJAMIN LORING YOUNG of Weston, and Mr. EDWARD WALDO FORBES of Cambridge, were elected Resident Members; and Mr. WILLIAM OTIS SAWTELLE of Haverford, Pennsylvania, and Mr. WILLIAM KEENEY BIXBY of St. Louis, Missouri, were elected Corresponding Members.

Mr. JOHN W. FARWELL exhibited a copy of a pamphlet by "Simon the Tanner" entitled "A Letter to the Reverend Andrew Croswell, occasioned by his Brief Remarks on the Satyrical Drollery, Last Commencement Day; with especial reference to the Character of Stephen, the Preacher, which occasioned such extravagant Mirth," printed at Boston in 1771. The author was perhaps the Rev. Thomas Prentice (1702-1782; H. C. 1726) of Charlestown.¹

Mr. PERCIVAL MERRITT read the following paper:

¹ W. Cushing, *Initials and Pseudonyms*, ii. 81.

SKETCH OF THE REV. STEPHEN CHRISTOPHER LEWIS

Under date of January 9, 1781, the Rev. Samuel Parker of Trinity Church, Boston, wrote the Rev. William Morrice, Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, that —

Christ Church in this Town is now supplied with a Clergyman who was deputy Chaplain to Gen'l Burgoyne's Regim't of light Dragoons & made Prisoner here about three years ago. He was detained in Captivity about a year, was then exchanged & went to N. York; from thence in August 1778 came to this Town & offered to take the Oath of Allegiance to the United States. In the fall of the same year he was employed to preach at that Chh & has since made such Alterations in the Liturgy as to accomodate to the present Rulers. This no other Episcopal Clergyman in the New England Provinces has done. His name is Stephen Lewis & is a Native of England.¹

This statement of Mr. Parker's, which he repeated more briefly a few years later to the Rev. Dr. William White of Philadelphia,² and a few extracts from the Christ Church records, together with several casual allusions to Mr. Lewis which will be referred to in due course, comprise practically all that has been known of him up to the present time. From the explicit reference to his connection with Burgoyne's regiment, it would have seemed an easy matter to identify him, but his name could not be found in the lists of British officers serving in America, nor in the list of officers paroled at the time of Burgoyne's surrender. Neither did it appear in any of the catalogues of the various English, Scotch, and Irish universities. But eventually, taking Mr. Parker's statement with regard to the Oath of Allegiance as a starting point, a search among the Massachusetts Archives uncovered his history from the time of his leaving England in July, 1776, up to the time of his assuming the charge of Christ Church in 1778.³

On October 3, 1776, Richard Derby of Salem addressed the following letter to "The Hon^{ble} The President of the Councill, Watertown":

¹ D. D. Addison, *Life and Times of Edward Bass* (1897), p. 148.

² Rev. Samuel Parker to Rev. William White, June 21, 1784: "Since the War two Clergymen have settled in this State, Revd. Mr. Lewis, who was Chaplain in Burgoyne's Regiment of light Dragoons, left that Service and came to this Town in 1778 and settled at Christ's Church; The other, the Revd. Mr. Fisher, who came from Annapolis in Nova Scotia in 1780 and settled in Salem" (*Journals of General Conventions*, iii. 57).

³ I am indebted to Mr. Albert Matthews for several extracts and references.

SIR

Last Evening The Massachusetts Cap^t Souther commander of the Brigantine belonging to this State¹ aryved here, and Informs me that a few Days after he had sailed he fell in with & Took a Brigantine² of about 250 Tons from Falmouth in England mounting six three pound Cannon, & having on board a Captain and about 20 Privates of the 16th Regiment of Dragoons with their Horses & Accoutrements, — The Chaplain of the Regiment is also with them, some articles of English Goods are on board which the Captain says are his own private Property, but what the Particulars are Cap^t Souther Cannot Inform, he parted from the Prize this Day week in a Storm which has Continued almost Ever since, but as the Wind has been favourable th[is] Day or two I Expect every moment to see or hear of her being aryved at Boston,³ the prisoners in all amount to 35, which Cap^t Souther tho^t too many to Cary the Cruise with him & therefore tho^t best to Return & Land them, Espetially, as he Expected to Do it in a few Days, but Gales of

¹ The words "commander of the Brigantine belonging to this State" are interlined in a different hand.

² The Henry and Ann.

³ "The Prize above mentioned we learn arrived at Townsend at the Eastward the middle of last week" (Boston Gazette, Monday, October 7, 1776, p. 3/1). The Council Records of October 9, 1776, contain an "Order to M^r Tim^y Parsons to deliver Prize sent into Townsend to Capt. Souther." The prize was sent to Townsend and was later taken possession of by Timothy Parsons, "Agent for the Eastern District, and by him removed to Wiscasset" (Council Records, xix. 265). The Continental Journal of October 24, 1776, contained the following advertisement, which was repeated in the issues of October 31 and November 7:

State of the Massachusetts Bay, Maritime Court, Eastern District. To all whom it may concern. A Libel is filed before me, in behalf of this State, and the officers, marines and mariners belonging to the armed brigantine Massachusetts, against the brigantine Henry and Ann, burthen about two hundred and fifty tons, Robert Tarrah late master, and her appurtenances and cargo. And for the tryal of the justice of the said capture, a maritime court for said district, will be held at Pownalborough, east precinct, on Thursday the fourteenth day of November, 1776, when all persons concerned in said brigantine, Henry and Ann, may appear and show cause, if any they have, why the said brigantine, her appurtenances and cargo shall not be condemned.

TIMOTHY LANGDON, Judge of said Court.

The final disposition of the prize is learned from an advertisement in the Continental Journal, November 14 and 21, 1776:

On Friday, the 22d November Instant, Will be Sold on the Wharfe of Richard Derby, Esq; at Salem. Two Hds. Queen's Ware — 2 Casks English Peas — 20 Saddles, Bridles &c, — 200 lb. Gun-Powder — 20 very neat Carbines — 2 Rifled Barrel do — 20 large Cutlasses — 20 very neat Pistols — 20 Suits Sol-

wind has prevented him, The Hon^{ble} Board I hope will Give me Directions how to Dispose of the Prisoners, Cap^t Souther Entertains a good opinion of the Cap^t & Chaplain, & no Doubt the Board will Order them to some Country Town on their Parole, they Entertain a Contemtable opinion of the Scotch & wish not to be in the same Town with them. The Common People I shall this Day have Landed & shall put them in the Goal in this Place, untill I Recieve your Directions about them. I Imagine the Board will think with me, that this is an Improper Place for them to Continue for any Long Time, with Respect to News I Can only Inform You that this vessell sailed from Falmouth on the 27 July, Just a month after they Imbarked, in Company with 12 others under the Convoy of the Daphne of 32 Guns, from whom they parted but a Day or two before they were taken, they all had the same kind of Cargo, making in the whole 230 Horses, a Fleet of about 70 sail Sailed about 3 Days before them, under a Strong Convoy, having on board the Remainder of the 16th Regiment of Dragoons, & the last Division of Hanoverians, as he says about 5,000 men bound for York, they were short of Horse Provisions & some of the Horses have Died of the Staggers, and he supposes the late Gales [h]ave Destroyed many more, — he says the People in Brittain know Nothing what is passing in America, & Cap^t Sother Informs me the Chaplain has Told him the People in England begin to grow more weary, not a single news paper or Letter has as Yet been found, if there should be or any more news Transpire You shall soon be Informed of it, I think you may Depend on the Acc^o he gives of the sailing of the Fleets, and that they are now near if not aryved at York,

A Privateer Sloop Belonging to this Place is Just Aryved, who fell in with the fleet of 12 Sail, & was so Closely Pursued by the Daphne, that the Enemy fired Musket Ball into them, but by heaveing Over board all her Guns, Water & Provisions, & by Sawing Down her upper works, barely made her Escape,

I am with all Due Respect to
the Honble Board,

Your most Ob^t Servant

R. DERBY Jun^r

P.S. if any Orders Respecting the Prisoners Can be sent by the Bearer, it will be very agreeable,

The Hon^{ble} The President of the Council

dier's Cloaths . . . Also, The Brig Henry and Ann, about 300 Tons Burthen, English built, almost new, and extremely well found, and is justly esteemed one of the best Vessels taken during the present War. N.B. She will be put up precisely at 12 o'clock. By order of the Agent

W. PRICE BARTLETT, Auctioneer.

Congress And it is further Ordered that the said Sheriff be and hereby is directed to imploy some suitable person to Conduct the said

to the Town of Boxford in the said County of Essex to which place the said is destined upon their Signing said Parole and deliver them to the Care of the Committee of Safety &c of said Town. And the said Sheriff is further Ordered to take into his Custody Soldiers and Sailors taken by Captain Souther.¹

On October 10, 1776, it was "On Motion Ordered that two Letters from Capt. Luke² and Mr Lewis be sent to his Excellency General Washington to be disposed of as he shall think proper."³ In accordance with the Council order of October 3, Captain Leche and Mr. Lewis were removed to Boxford.⁴ In his History of Boxford Perley writes: "More than a dozen of these *Hessian* prisoners were kept here in Boxford. Several of them lived with Capt. William

¹ Council Records, xix. 258. The remainder of the order relates to sending soldiers and sailors to jail in Salem.

² This "Captain Luke" was John Leche, commissioned March 4, 1775, Captain in the Sixteenth, or the Queen's Regiment of (Light) Dragoons under command of Burgoyne. (W. C. Ford, *British Officers serving in the American Revolution, 1774-1783*, p. 108.)

³ Council Records, xix. 267.

⁴ The removal to Boxford did not follow very closely on the order of the Council of October 3. On October 30, "The Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety of the Town of Salem" addressed a complaint "To the honourable the Council of the State of the Massachusetts Bay:"

We find by an order of the honourable Board that Captain *Leche*, of the Light Dragoons, and the Chaplain, Mr. *Lewes*, were to have been sent to *Boxford*, after the Sheriff had taken their parole, and the common dragoons were to have been delivered to the Committees in this County, to be let to work; but that order remains unexecuted in every part, and for that reason many persons here are uneasy. . . . There is the greater reason for this uneasiness with regard to *Leche*, *Lewes*, and *Peers*, because neither of them has given the parole ordered by Congress. We therefore pray your Honours to give immediate orders relative to these prisoners, as well as the former. In behalf and by order of the Committee,

TIM. PICKERING, Jr., Chairman.

The Council thereupon ordered Daniel Hopkins, Esq., to be a committee to take this letter under consideration and report what was necessary to be done (American Archives, 5th Series, iii. 421, 422). On October 29, 1776, Captain Leche addressed a letter from Salem to the Honourable Colonel Harcourt, Queen's Light Dragoons, stating that "He and Mr. Lewis had been made prisoners of war on the 22nd ultimo" and desiring Col. Harcourt's interest to get them exchanged (Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth, in *Historical Manuscripts Commission, 14th Report, Appendix, Part x*, p. 465).

Perley, others with Rufus Burnham, and one entire family resided in the Emerson house that stood near the residence of Mr. Francis Marden. One of these was Capt. Leach of the Queen's Light Dragoons." ¹

Mr. Lewis remained in Boxford until December, 1777, or January, 1778, when he was exchanged and went to New York for a time. General Heath's letter, which will be cited presently, gives the time of his exchange as January, 1778, but an entry in the parish register of Christ Church indicates that Mr. Lewis was in Boston at the end of December, 1777. The last baptismal record by Dr. Byles in the parish register is dated April 11, 1775, and numbered 351. Following this entry and preceding the record of the first baptism performed by Mr. Lewis, in September, 1778, when he was the rector of Christ Church, is the following entry: "352. Dec^r 29, 1777 Nancy of William & Ann Stackpole was privately Baptiz'd by me. S. C. Lewis." ² On July 30, 1778, Mr. Lewis was back in Boston, as is shown by the following letter to the Council from General Heath:

Head Quarters Boston 30 July 1778

GENTLEMEN

Just before dinner the Rev^d Stephen Lewis, Chaplain to the 16th Light Dragoons who was taken coming to America 22^d Sept^r 1776, admitted on his Parole for some time by your Honors in the Town of Boxford, and in the month of January last exchanged, came to my Quarters from Gen^l Sullivan's at Providence to whom he was forwarded by the Committee of New London; he says that he left the Enemy through dislike to their measures, and wishes to become an Inhabitant of this State if he may be permitted — He informs me that he is acquainted with some of the Hon^e Board, and that he had hinted to some of the Inhabitants of this State before his departure that he would return again. — I have thought it my duty therefore to send him to you, to be dealt with as you may think proper.

I have the honor to be

Very respectfully

Your Honors Obed^t Serv^t

W HEATH ³

¹ Sidney Perley, *History of Boxford* (1880), p. 231.

² In the register baptisms are numbered consecutively, and here Mr. Lewis carried on Dr. Byles's numbers. His own first baptism, September 27, 1778, is numbered 1.

³ Massachusetts Archives, cxcix. 385. This letter is entirely in Heath's handwriting.

The Council thereupon remanded Mr. Lewis to Boxford under the following order:

State of Massachusetts Bay

Council Chamber July 30 1778

Ordered that the Rev^d Mr Stephen Lewis Chaplin to the 16 Regiment of the British Army has permission from the Council of this State to pass to the Town of Boxford & is hereby directed to reside in & is confined to the Limitts of said Town until he procures testimonials from the Hon^{ble} Richard Derby Esq^r of Salem & the Rev^d M^r Holyoke & Aaron Wood Esq^r of Boxford or any other Gentlemen of Character within y^e State with Respect to his Character that the Board may determine whether it is proper to admit him a subject of this State agreeable to a request he has made to a Committee of this Board

Read & Accepted

JN^o AVERY D^y Se^y

[Endorsed]

permission to the Rev^d Steⁿ Lewis Chaplin to the 16th British Reg^t to pass to the Town of Boxford & be confined there 'till further Orders

July 30th; 1778 ¹

1778 July 30 Ordered that the Rev^d M^r Stephen Lewis, Chaplain to the sixteenth Regiment of the British Army has permission from the Council of this State to pass to the town of Boxford & is hereby directed to reside in & is confined to the limits of said town until he procures testimonials from the Honble Richard Derby Esq^r of Salem & the Rev^d M^r Holyoke & Aaron Wood Esq^r of Boxford or any other Gentlemen of Character within this State with respect to his character that the Board may determine whether it is proper to admit him a subject of this State agreeable to a request he has made to a Committee of this Board.²

A rather curious side-light on the impression created by Mr. Lewis in Boston at this time is reflected in the diary of the Rev. Jacob Bailey, missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Pownalborough, Maine.³ Bailey, who was a staunch

¹ Massachusetts Archives, clxix. 48.

² Council Records, xxii. 368.

³ Jacob Bailey (H. C. 1755) was born in Rowley in 1731. In 1758 he was licensed to preach by an Association of Congregational Ministers assembled at Exeter, New Hampshire. In the following year he became a convert to Episcopalianism, being influenced in his new choice by the Rev. Dr. Henry Caner and Dr. Sylvester Gardiner. He was ordained in England in 1760 and served the Church in Maine until 1779, when he received permission from the General Court to remove to Nova Scotia. He died at Annapolis, N. S., July 26, 1808. (C. R. Batchelder, Eastern Diocese, i. 41-44.)

loyalist, had come to Boston to obtain from the Council permission to remove with his family to Halifax, Nova Scotia. It is obvious that a persecuted loyalist clergyman would have been apt to regard as a renegade, in more ways than one, an Englishman and a clergyman who was seeking to become a citizen of the United States. Under date of July 31, 1778, Bailey wrote:¹

Went in the morning to the Court House [] but the President assured me that he would carefully keep my petition, and present it whenever a favourable opportunity should occur. While I was in conversation with him upon the subject, an aid-de-camp from General Heath appeared, with a message to the Council. He gave information that a Mr. Lewis, a clergyman, or chaplain of a regiment, had deserted from New York, and having dined with the General was coming to lay something of the utmost importance before the Council; "but you may depend upon it," continued the officer, "that the gentleman is a spy." Mrs. White was buried this afternoon: a prodigious large funeral. Drank tea at Mrs. Coffin's. Present, D. Lloyd and his wife, Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Brimmer, Mr. Amory and his lady, with several other ladies, both married and single. We spent the evening very agreeably. Having informed Mrs. Coffin of what I had heard concerning the clergyman from New York, she and Mrs. Deblois left the company and went in pursuit of him, hoping to hear something of their absent friends. They had the good fortune to find the gentleman, though something under duress. He represented that all the Royal Forces and the friends of Government were in the utmost confusion and anxiety, that many repented of their rashness in leaving their country, and that numbers intended very shortly to imitate his example in running away and throwing themselves upon the mercy of the American government. He added, that people were almost starving for want of bread and [] expected from Britain []. . . with the arrival of Parson Lewis. Some conceived that he was a spy, others that he had deserted from disgust to the British cause and pure affection to the American cause, whilst the ladies were unanimous that it was a love affair which brought him to Boston, for during his imprisonment he had frequent interviews with Mr. Pierpont's daughter, a young girl of fifteen, who had an independent fortune of £5000 sterling.²

¹ There were a number of hiatuses in Bailey's manuscript, indicated in the text by brackets. In view of the date of Heath's letter it seems probable that the editor of Bailey's manuscript placed the extract under the date of July 31 by error, owing to the mutilated condition of the manuscript.

² Collections Protestant Episcopal Historical Society, ii. 357, 358.

So far as can be learned from the Archives Mr. Lewis was finally denied the privilege of taking the oath of allegiance, but for what reason cannot be ascertained. On September 23, 1778:

Joseph Simpson, Esq; brought down a Petition of *Stephen Lewis*, setting forth, that he had voluntarily quitted the *British Army*, and praying that he may be admitted to the Franchises of this Community, with the following Vote of Council thereon, viz.

In Council, *September 23, 1778*, Read, and thereupon Resolved, That *Timothy Danielson* Esq; with such as the Honorable House may join, be a Committee to take this Petition into Consideration, and the Papers accompanying the same, and report.

Sent down for Concurrence.

Read and concurred, and Mr. *Gorham* and Mr. *Barrell* are joined.¹

And on October 3rd:

Benjamin Austin, Esq; brought down a Report of the Committee of both Houses on the Petition of *Stephen Lewis*, being by way of Resolve, permitting him to take the Oath of Allegiance, and considering him as an Inhabitant of this State.

Pass'd in Council, And

Sent down for Concurrence.

Read and nonconcurred.²

Mr. Lewis's detention at Boxford, as stipulated in the order of the Council of July 30, must have been a brief one, for probably at some-time during the month of August he became the rector of Christ Church. Nothing can be learned from the church records as to how, why, or exactly when he assumed charge of the church, but it is a reasonable surmise that it was due to the suggestion and interest of the Rev. Mr. Parker of Trinity Church. There is preserved in the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel a letter (undated) on the state of the church in 1778,³ from the Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks, who had been the missionary of the Venerable Society at Marblehead.⁴ In the course of this letter he wrote: "The

¹ Massachusetts House Journal, p. 51.

² Id. p. 66.

³ W. S. Perry, Historical Collections, iii. 599-601.

⁴ Joshua Wingate Weeks (H. C. 1758). Ordained 1763 and became rector of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, in the same year. In 1778 sailed for England from New York. The following year he returned to Nova Scotia, where he remained, though with occasional absences, until his death in 1804. (Batchelder, Eastern Diocese, i. 482-484.)

French had rece'd leave from the Congress to make use of Christ Church for the purposes of their worship, but the proprietors of it having notice of this persuaded M^r Parker to preach in it every Sunday in the afternoon, by which means it remains untouched."¹ This circumstantial statement it has not been possible to verify. It has been quoted as if referring to the French congregation,² which at one time had a church of their own in School Street, but this congregation was disbanded and their meeting-house sold to the Congregationalists in March, 1748.³ It has been suggested that it might refer to the French fleet of Admiral d'Estaing, the first ship of which arrived in Boston on August 22, 1778, and the rest of the fleet on August 28,⁴ but by this time in all probability Mr. Lewis was already installed in charge. An examination of the Journals of the Continental Congress, of the Council Records of the State of Massachusetts, and of the Boston Records, fails to reveal any information with regard to this matter.

The earliest information which can be gathered from the church records as to Mr. Lewis's services at Christ Church is found in the parish register.⁵ Following the last baptism by Dr. Byles, April 11, 1775, comes this entry in the new rector's handwriting: "The Church shut from this Time till August 1778." Then follows the

¹ Perry, *Historical Collections*, iii. 601.

² "In 1778 the French Congregation, as it was then called, received from the American Government leave to use this church, which had been closed since the breaking out of the war, and it came very near being lost to our communion" (Rev. Henry Burroughs, *Historical Account of Christ Church, Boston*, 1874, p. 28). Mr. Burroughs followed the Weeks account cited in the text and enlarged a little on it.

³ See p. 173, above.

⁴ The French at Boston during the Revolution, in *Publications Bostonian Society*, x. 22, 23.

⁵ There are no vestry records from September 6, 1774, until November 6, 1778. In the treasurer's ledger, following the last payment to Dr. Byles, for the year ending April 16, 1775, is this memorandum: "N.B. From the above date to July 29th 1781, by reason of the Church being a long time shut up & the depreciation of the Money at Various periods, & no Balance belonging to the Church, the Accounts was not continued in the usual way." The first entry in the ledger after the above statement is of April 7, 1782. As to the proprietors' records it can be said that the annual meeting on Easter Monday seems to have been kept up all through the clerical interregnum, but practically nothing was done except to elect wardens and vestrymen for the ensuing year. In addition to the election on Easter Monday, April 8, 1776, the wardens and a committee of three were "desired to supply the Pulpit of this Church in the best manner they can."

record of the private baptism in December, 1777, as cited above. At the top of the next page is written: "Baptisms 1778 by S. C. Lewis." "No 1 Sept 27th Philip Colter of Philip & Mary Harris Æ 19 M. 1" The first burial is recorded October 16, 1778, preceded by this entry: "From this time"—i. e. April, 1775—"till August 1778 the Church was shut up: consequently the Burials were omitted &c." His first marriage ceremony is entered under December 30, 1778. At a meeting of the proprietors on October 4, 1778, it was "Voted That the Pews on the Floor be Taxed three shillings law¹ money p week for Each Pew. That the Pews in the Gallery be Taxed two shillings each p week;" which would seem to imply that provision was being made to provide for the rector's salary. As a matter of fact all the votes of the proprietors with regard to Mr. Lewis during his incumbency had to do with the matter of salary. They are of some interest, however, as indicating the rapid depreciation of money during the Revolutionary period. At the proprietors' meeting on Easter Monday, April 5, 1779, it was "Voted That the Rever^d M^r Stephen¹ Lewis be allow'd & paid Twelve pounds L M^o a Week untill it may be Reconsider'd." "Voted That M^r Ballard, Dr Foster & Cap^t Pulling be a Comm^{tee} to wait on M^r Lewis with a Copy of the foregoing Vote." "Voted That the Contribution that may be Collected in this Church the Sunday after next Be for the benefit of the Rev^d M^r Lewis." This second Sunday after Easter benefit contribution for the clergyman was a regular feature of the successive proprietors' meetings. A year later, March 27, 1780, the salary of Mr. Lewis was fixed at "thirty Pounds per Week untill further Altered." On April 2, 1780, another vote established his salary at "thirty six pounds p Week untill it be Reconsidered." Less than six months later it was reconsidered, for on September 18 he was voted "one hundred & Twenty pounds L. M^o p^r week." How far this went the proprietors' records do not show, for there is no account of a vote in 1781, but by 1782 they had arrived on a sounder basis by allowing "Eight Silver Dollars p^r week," which continued as long as he remained in charge of the church.

¹ Written above "Samuel," crossed out. The church officers at this time did not seem to have a clear idea as to what Mr. Lewis's name really was. At the proprietors' meeting in the following year, March 27, 1780, it was voted that the contribution which was to be taken up should be for "the benefit of The Rev^d M^r Sam^l Lewis."

- Bachman 1778 by *Richard*
1. Philip Allen, of Philip & Mary, Nov. 1. 1778. 1
 2. - Philip, Capt. of Cavalry, Nov. 1. 1778. 2
 3. - Thomas Howard, of - 3.
 4. - John Warrick, of John & Elizabeth, Nov. 1. 1778. 4
 5. - 92 Polls, of - 5
 6. - 92 Polls, of - 6
 7. Nov. 8. George Potts, of Patrick & Elizabeth, Nov. 1. 1778. 7
 8. - 92 Polls, of John & Sarah, Nov. 1. 1778. 8
 9. - 92 Polls, of John & Susannah, Nov. 1. 1778. 9
 10. - 92 Polls, of James a free Negro, Nov. 1. 1778. 10

The first reference to Mr. Lewis in the vestry records, under date of March 31, 1779, possesses a considerable interest:

Voted: That the Reverend M^r Lewis be desired to prepare a proper form of Prayer for the Congress of the United States for the several States and for their success in the present important contest to be read daily in the Church. Voted: That the Church Wardens together wth D^r Foster be a Committee to wait on the Rev^d M^r Lewis with a Copy of the foregoing vote.

Whether he actually prepared and made use of such a prayer cannot be positively determined. It would seem doubtful in view of the fact that in the Episcopal churches of New England in general which remained open during this period, the only liturgical change consisted in the omission of the prayers for the king and royal family, or as they were entitled more comprehensively the "State Prayers."¹

¹ On July 18 [Thursday], 1776, the wardens and vestry of Trinity Church, Boston, voted that Mr. Parker should omit the State Prayers from the Liturgy. On July 14 the wardens and vestry of St. Paul's Church, Newburyport, requested their rector, the Rev. Edward Bass, to omit them, and he assented under date of July 16. (Addison, *Life of Edward Bass*, pp. 154, 155.)

On July 20 the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island enacted "that, if any Person within this State, shall under Pretence of Preaching or praying, or in any Way or manner whatever acknowledge or declare the said King (of G. Brit.) to be our rightful Lord & Sovereign, or shall pray for the Success of his Arms, or that he may vanquish or overcome all his Enemies, [he] shall be deemed guilty of a high Misdemeanor." (Extract from *Newport Mercury*, July 22, 1776, in *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, ii. 27, 28.) Stiles commented: "This was passed on Sat^y last. And instantly thereon the People of the Chh. of England in Newport cried out of Persecution, went and removed all their Prayer Books &c. & shut up the Church; And had no Service in it last Lords day [July 21], tho' M^r Bisset their Parson was well & walking the streets" (*Literary Diary*, July 24, ii. 28).

In Philadelphia action was taken immediately following the Declaration of Independence. "The Liturgy of the Church of England was used, without alteration, until the 4th of July 1776: on which day, after the independence of the colonies had been declared by congress, a resolution was adopted at a meeting of the vestry of Christ Church and St. Peter's, that in consequence of that event it would 'be proper to omit those petitions in the liturgy wherein the king of Great Britain is prayed for, as inconsistent with the said declaration;' and the rector and assistant ministers were requested to omit such petitions. No other change took place until the convention of 1785" (B. Wilson, *Memoir of the Life of Bishop White*, 1839, p. 136). At that time the Rev. Dr. Peters was the rector and the Rev. William White (later first Bishop of Pennsylvania), an assistant.

The colonies to the southward went a step further, however, and the Virginia Convention, on July 5, 1776, voted that the State Prayers should be omitted

On the other hand the statement of Mr. Parker in his letter of January 9, 1781, to the Venerable Society, gives a fairly good reason for believing that Lewis had made "such Alterations in the Liturgy

from the Liturgy, and resolved "That the following Prayer shall be used, instead of the Prayer for the King's Majesty, in the Morning and Evening service: 'O Lord, our Heavenly Father, high and mighty King of Kings, Lord of Lords, the only Ruler of the Universe, who dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth, most heartily we beseech thee with thy favour to behold the Magistrates of this Commonwealth, and so replenish them with the grace of thy Holy Spirit, that they may always incline to thy will, and walk in thy way. . . .'" Also in the Litany, a petition was added: "That it may please thee to endue the Magistrates of this Commonwealth with grace, wisdom, and understanding" (American Archives, 4th series, vi. 1614, 1615). In regard to this action the Right Rev. W. S. Perry wrote: "The Convention of Virginia, on the day following the Declaration of Independence, altered the *Book of Common Prayer* to accommodate it to the new condition of things. These alterations almost exclusively related to the supplications for those in authority, and throughout the State this requirement of the assembly met with little or no opposition from clergy or people" (The Church Review, 1887, l. 63).

The Convention of Maryland took action earlier, and on May 25, 1776, after reciting that the king was prosecuting a cruel and unjust war against the colonies, and that the people of this province cannot with sincerity pray for the success of his arms, it was "therefore *Resolved*, That every prayer and petition for the king's majesty, in the book of common prayer and administration of the sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the use of the church of England, except the second collect for the king in the communion service, be henceforth omitted in all churches and chapels in this province, until our unhappy differences are ended" (Proceedings of the Conventions of Maryland, 1774-1776, Baltimore, 1836, p. 156). The Convention displayed quite a touch of humor, whether conscious or unconscious, in excepting the second Collect, to which the sturdiest patriot of that time could have responded "Amen" with a clear conscience. It reads: "Almighty and everlasting God, we are taught by thy holy Word, that the hearts of Kings are in thy rule and governance, and that thou dost dispose and turn them, as it seemeth best to thy godly wisdom; We humbly beseech thee, so to dispose and govern the heart of George thy Servant, our King and Governor, that in all his thoughts, words, and works, he may ever seek thy honour and glory; and study to preserve thy people committed to his charge, in wealth, peace, and godliness: Grant this &c."

The earliest instance, known to me, of an alteration in the Liturgy to accommodate it to the changed conditions, occurred at Christ Church, Cambridge, on Sunday, December 31, 1775, but it must be said that this was the act, not of a clergyman, but of a layman, Major William Palfrey, then aide-de-camp to General Lee. Palfrey wrote to his wife a letter dated January 2, 1776, but which the Rev. Mr. Hoppin, formerly rector of Christ Church, after an examination of the original manuscript, concluded was probably written on the 1st and a fair copy made on the 2nd. (Nicholas Hoppin, *Historical Notice of Christ Church [Cambridge]*, 1858, p. 50.) "What think you of my turning parson?"

as to accomodate to the present Rules." Parker was in a position to be thoroughly conversant with what was done at Christ Church and he was accurate and careful in his statements.¹ Witness his saying that Lewis "offered to take the Oath of Allegiance," which in view of what we now know from the Council Records is a very exact statement. One deduction, however, has been sometimes drawn from this episode which is quite unwarranted — namely, that the folio Prayer Book, altered by hand, still in possession of Christ Church, owes its alterations to the Rev. Mr. Lewis.² The

I yesterday, at the request of Mrs. Washington, performed divine service at the church at Cambridge. There was present the General and lady, Mrs. Gates, Mrs. Custis, and a number of others, and they were pleased to compliment me on my performance. I made a form of prayer, instead of the prayer for the King, which was much approved. I gave it to Mrs. Washington, at her desire, and did not keep a copy, but will get one and send it to you." The prayer reads as follows:

"O Lord our heavenly Father, high and mighty King of kings and Lord of lords, who hast made of one blood all the nations upon earth, and whose common bounty is liberally bestowed upon thy unworthy creatures; most heartily we beseech thee to look down with mercy on his Majesty George the Third. Open his eyes and enlighten his understanding, that he may pursue the true interest of the people over whom thou, in thy providence, hast placed him. Remove far from him all wicked, corrupt men, and evil counsellors, that his throne may be established in justice and righteousness; and so replenish him with the grace of thy Holy Spirit that he may always incline to thy will and walk in thy way. Have pity, O most merciful Father, upon the distresses of the inhabitants of this Western World. Succeed and prosper their endeavors for the establishment of peace, liberty, and safety. To that end, we humbly pray thee to bless the Continental Congress. Preside over their councils, and may they be led to such measures as may tend to thy glory, to the advancement of true religion, and to the happiness and prosperity of thy people. We also pray thee to bless our Provincial Assemblies, magistrates, and all in subordinate places of power and trust. Be with thy servant the Commander-in-chief of the American forces. Afford him thy presence in all his undertakings; strengthen him, that he may vanquish and overcome all his enemies; and grant that we may, in thy due time, be restored to the enjoyment of those inestimable blessings we have been deprived of by the devices of cruel and bloodthirsty men, for the sake of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord" (Life of William Palfrey in Sparks, American Biography, Second Series, vii. 405, 406).

¹ June 21, 1784, Parker wrote the Rev. William White: "As no Alteration except that of omitting the Prayers for the King and Royal Family has taken place in the Churches in general in these States, I am desirous of knowing how the Churches at the Southward manage in this affair, that if possible a Uniformity as far as the civil government of each State will permit may be maintained" (Journals, General Conventions, iii. 58).

² "One of our old Prayer Books has paper pasted over the 'State Prayers,' and was probably used by Mr. Lewis" (Rev. H. Burroughs, Historical Account

fact that it contains prayers for the President of the United States, and that its alterations simply bring it into harmony with the first edition of the American Prayer Book adopted at the General Convention of September-October, 1789, some five years after Mr. Lewis had left Christ Church, sufficiently disprove any such theory. He may have made physical alterations in some Prayer Book, but he certainly did not do it in the book as we see it to-day.¹

During the incumbency of Mr. Lewis at Christ Church, he gave his assistance on several occasions to churches which were without a settled minister. The records of King's Church (St. John's Church), Providence, show that "The Rev. Mr. Parker and Lewis, of Boston assisted us twice each," but the time of the assistance is not stated.² On August 14, 1783, at a meeting of St. Paul's Church, Falmouth (now Portland, Maine), the wardens were instructed to "'write to the Reverend Mr. Lewis of Boston to visit this Church, Preach with them, and Baptize their children, also to the Reverend Edward Bass of Newbury Port for the same purpose.' Both of these gentle-

of Christ Church, 1874, p. 28). The Rev. C. W. Duane wrote: "Doubtless one of our most interesting relics comes from his hand. This is one of the old Prayer Books, the gift of George II., having the prayers for the King and the Royal Family pasted over or so altered as to make it conform substantially to our present Book. We thus catch a glimpse of the way in which Liturgical services were conducted some ten years before the American Prayer Book was finally adopted" (Historical Sermon on the one hundred and seventy-fifth Anniversary of Christ Church, pp. 8, 9).

¹ See our Publications, xix. 318-323, where it is surmised that the hand alterations in this Prayer Book were made by the Rev. William Montague, minister at Christ Church, 1785-1792. This surmise has since been fairly well verified by finding in the treasurer's ledger a payment to Mr. Montague, entered under June 7, 1791, for "3 Books Alteration prayers" and under January 1792, for "2 book alterations prayers." The only weak link in this chain of evidence is that it is not stated whether the books so altered were folios or not. Under July 27, 1792, Mr. Montague was credited with payment for "8 books alteration prayers in folio." These latter alterations were probably made by insertion of the "partial folio" of 1792, printed by Thomas and Andrews, and advertised for sale in the *Columbian Centinel* of June 27, 1792. (Our Publications, xix. 325-326.) It should be said that prior to June, 1792, there was in existence no portion of the American Prayer Book printed in folio, so that alterations in a folio Prayer Book in 1790 or 1791 must of necessity have been made by hand. Four of the five folio books still in the possession of Christ Church were altered either by the partial folio of 1792, or the first full folio edition of the Prayer Book published in 1795 by Hugh Gaine in New York, or by a combination of both folio editions.

² W. Updike, *History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett* (1907), ii. 187.

men accepted the invitation. The records attest the baptisms performed by the Rev. Mr. Stephen C. Lewis, though his failure to add a date to these evidences of his presence, prevents our knowledge of the time of his visit."¹ The precise time of Mr. Lewis's visits, however, is to be found in the parish register of Christ Church, which shows that he went to Falmouth on two different occasions. In the midst of his records of baptisms in his own church, he enters under October 18-31, 1780, fifteen baptisms "at Falmouth Casco Bay." And again September 21-29, 1783, he records thirty-seven baptisms at Falmouth.

At the first convention of the Episcopal clergy of Massachusetts and Rhode Island held at Boston September 8, 1784, among those present was the "Rev. Stephen C. Lewis, Christ Church, Boston."² He was now approaching the end of his connection with Christ Church, though why he decided to sever his relations with the church is not known. The last entry in the vestry records relating to him is as follows, under date of Monday, September 27, 1784:

That Whereas the Rev^d M^r Lewes has Declared his entention to Leave this Church the middle of October next when the Church will be destitute of a Minister. Voted That the Church wardens be directed to write to the Rev^d M^r John Graves of Providence or sum Other Gentleman to Supply the Pulpit for the present and to agree for the same in the best manner they Can.³

The last payment to him is entered in the ledger under date of October 11, 1784, though the parish register shows that he performed a baptism on October 12, and a wedding ceremony on October 17.⁴

And now Mr. Lewis appeared to have vanished into space without even leaving an address behind,⁵ and for some time no trace

¹ W. S. Perry, *Sketch of the Episcopal Church in Portland, Maine* (1863), p. 12. See also Batchelder, *Eastern Diocese*, i. 65.

² *Journals of the Conventions in Massachusetts, 1784-1828*, p. 5.

³ In the treasurer's ledger under date of October 22, 1784, is the record: "Cash p'd M^r. Graves Journey, 1.10.0." Payments for service by him on Sundays are entered on October 25, 31, and November 15. The records also show that Thomas Fitch Oliver was paid for one Sunday, on November 8.

⁴ During his six years of service at Christ Church Mr. Lewis performed 264 baptisms, 73 burials, and 138 marriages.

⁵ The *Independent Chronicle* of Thursday, December 2, 1784, p. 4/1, advertised a "List of Letters remaining in the Post-Office, Boston, November 22, 1784." Under the letter L was the name, "Lewis Stephen, Rev."

could be found of him. But at about the same time that the Massachusetts Archives revealed his early history, an examination, for another purpose, of a history of South Carolina brought to light his later history, and for the first time indicated his full name. In his account of the Episcopal Church in South Carolina, the Rev. Frederick Dalcho, in detailing the history of St. Helena's Parish, Beaufort, wrote: "The Rev. Stephen C. Lewis took charge of the Church Nov. 28, 1784, and died in 1791. He was succeeded by the Rev. John Sylvester J. Gardiner, now Rector of Trinity Church, Boston."¹ In his "List of Clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina" is the entry: "Came into the Province, or State. 1784. Stephen Christopher Lewis. Died 1791."²

The recent publication of the minutes of the vestry of St. Helena's Parish has furnished an opportunity for more complete information as to the last years of Mr. Lewis's life.³ On July 7, 1784, the wardens and vestry of St. Helena's Parish —

Resolved That the following Letter be Wrote to M^r John Kean requesting him to procure a Clergyman of the Episcopalian Church Sir, You are hereby requested and Empower'd to procure a Clergyman of the Episcopalian Church for the Town of Beaufort South Carolina on the following Terms. An Annual Salary of One hundred & fifty Pounds Sterling.⁴

Mr. Kean himself was a member of the vestry and his name appears among the signatures to this letter.

November 22, 1784: "At a meet^s of the Vestry At the report of M^r John Kean of his succeeding in obtaining a Minister — who being now arrived in Charleston, they came to a resolution of sending for him — so soon as a Boat & hands could be obtained — and in the meantime a place must be provided for him to Lodge at the Minister's name — The Rev^d: Step. C. Lewes —"⁵ The minutes show that "the Rev^d Stephen C. Lewis arriv'd here the 28th Nov^r —

¹ F. Dalcho, *Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina* (Charleston, 1820), p. 381.

² *Id.* p. 435.

³ *Minutes of the Vestry of St. Helena's Parish, South Carolina, 1726-1812* (ed. A. S. Salley, Jr., Columbia, S. C., 1919). Although the imprint reads 1919 the book was not actually published until 1923.

⁴ *Vestry Minutes*, p. 168.

⁵ Pp. 169, 170.

& preached the Sunday followg;” and also “that the Wardens be Directed to settle the Rev^d M^r S. C. Lewis’s Expences from the time he left Boston till his arrival here.”¹ A later record reads: “Rec^d Feb^y 4th 1705 of the Church Wardens Thirty Guineas for my Expences to this place, allowd by the Vestry — S. C. Lewes N.B. M^r Lewes’s Salary Commenced 1st Oct^r 1784.”²

On February 27, 1785, Mr. Lewis was married by the Rev. Mr. Graham to Mary Greene, daughter of Daniel John and Ann Greene.³ Their son John Daniel Lewis was born January 10, 1786, and was baptized on February 19 by his father.⁴ At the Fifth Convention of the Church in South Carolina, held at Charleston February 20–22, 1787, Mr. Lewis was present as a delegate,⁵ and in his capacity as “Rector of St. Helena, Deputy for the Parish of St. Helena” signed the Constitution and Articles of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina as agreed upon in a Convention held at Charleston, May 29–31, 1786.⁶ He also attended the Eighth Convention at Charleston on October 19, 1790. At this Convention there were appointed as members of the standing committee of the diocese, “St. Helena, The resident Clergyman and Col. Barnwell.”⁷

The vestry minutes show that at least as early as the spring of 1788 Mr. Lewis’s health had begun to fail. At a meeting of the vestry on May 5, 1788:

A Letter from the Rev^d M^r Lewes was presented the Vestry & Church Wardens, which was read — a Copy of which is as follows

¹ Vestry Minutes, p. 171.

² P. 174. 1705 is an obvious clerical error for 1785.

³ Mary Greene was born October 1, 1768. I am indebted to Miss Mabel L. Webber of the South Carolina Historical Society for information regarding the marriage of Mr. Lewis and the birth and baptism of his son. The Society possesses a copy of the St. Helena’s Parish register. Daniel John Greene was a member of the vestry when Mr. Lewis was called to St. Helena’s, and was elected a church warden April 17, 1786. He had also served as a warden in 1771 and 1777.

⁴ The god-parents on this occasion were “Col. Ed: Barnwell and Lady, and Mr. Daniel John Green.” The parish register shows that Mr. Lewis had two more children: William Bower Lewis, born March 13, 1788, died September 29, 1790; Elizabeth Mary Hooper Lewis, born October 29, 1789.

⁵ Dalcho, *Historical Account*, p. 475.

⁶ P. 474.

⁷ P. 478.

Gentlemen

As my health is very much impaired & since the warm weather hath set in, seems to be on the decline, I have been advised by Doctor Turnbull the physician who attended me in Charleston to take a voyage to Europe as the most likely means of restoring it. I have therefore to solicit leave of absence from the parish for that purpose: Your Concurrence herein will be a favour ever gratefully acknowledged by Gentlemen Your most devoted and Obligated humble Servant S: C:: Lewes. Beaufort 5th May 1788. To the Gentlemen Vestry & Church Wardens of the Parish of St: Helena

To which an Answer was wrote by the Church Wardens at the request of the Vestry: a Copy of which follows. —

Rev^d Sir

Yours of this date was handed to the Vestry who have desired us to inform you that you have permission to be absent from the parish for the space of six months from the date hereof — We wish you an agreeable passage & safe return among us: And hope the Voyage you propose taking to Europe may have the desired Effect of restoring you to health — We remain Rev^d Sir for ourselves & Vestry Your most Ob^t Serv^{ts}

WILL^m ELLIOTT } C:W
JOHN ROSE }

Beaufort May 5th 1788

The Rev^r: M^r: S: C: Lewes ¹

Mr. Lewis, however, never accomplished his projected trip to England. The reason can probably be inferred from entries in the vestry records. At a meeting on September 7, 1790, "The Vestry Unanimously agreed that the Rev^d D^r Lewis's Bond for the purchase of a Square in the New Town should be given up to him, in consideration of the Losses he has sustained, by his Salary not being paid up Regularly."² And on November 3, 1790, —

It is unanimously agreed by this meeting that the church Wardens do without delay collect the Pew tax & arrears due to the Rev^d M^r Lewis — as also the Interest money due on the Several Bonds herein annexed — and where the money is not paid that Notes of hand, be taken from all persons without distinction — and should any person or persons refuse to Comply with so Just a requisition, their names be reported to the Vestry at a future meeting — It is further agreed by this meeting that as monies is due to M^r Lewis from this Parish that We give him a Certifycate from under our hands to pay to him or to his order one hundred pounds Sterling by the 31st Jan^y 1791 . . . in part of what is due him — in order to enable him to pursue his intended

¹ Vestry Minutes, pp. 186, 187.

² P. 196.

Voyage to England for the recovery of his health, — accordingly a certificate was given.¹

But the promise of financial relief came too late, for on Saturday, December 4, 1790, the City Gazette of Charleston contained this notice:

Died. On the 2nd. inst. Dr. Stephen C. Lewis, rector of the parish of St. Helena. Open, unaffected & polite — the diseased was no less distinguished as a gentleman than as a christian minister, for the genuine piety & benevolence of his conduct. He bore up against the severity of a long illness with all the patience & resignation which might be expected from such a character; & may truly be said to have left this world lamented by all who had the happiness of his acquaintance.²

Mr. FRANCIS T. BOWLES read some "Notes from the Cape," relating chiefly to Edward Bacon of Barnstable.³

¹ Vestry Minutes, p. 197.

² I am indebted to Miss Ellen H. Jervey, Librarian of the College of Charleston, for supplying this extract from the City Gazette.

At the time of the death of Mr. Lewis the church appears to have been indebted to him to the amount of £388.11.1, equivalent to more than two and a half years' salary. On July 5, 1791: "It was agreed this day that the church wardens do pay into the hands of M^{rs} Lewis Executrix of Rev^d M^r Lewes, notes of hand of the several persons who are in arrears for Interest Money due on their Bonds, and that a discharge be taken for the said Ball^{ce} due to him of £388.11.1" (Vestry Minutes, p. 207). More than two years later, Mrs. Lewis having remarried in the meantime, "M^r Jn^o Grayson presented a power of attorney from M^{rs} Mary Wall Executrix to the last Will & Testament of her late husband Rev^d Step. C. Lewes, demanding payment of the Vestry for the debt due to her late Husband. — M^r Grayson proposed Receiv^g Bonds in payment on Consideration the Vestry agreed to pass to him

Dan ^l Stevens' Bond of £155. and £14.9.4 In ^t is	£169. 9. 4
also John Joyners Bond Bond of £67. and £5.1.6 In ^t is	72. 1. 6
	£241.10.10

which Bonds are delv^d. to him in part of said debt so oweing, the Ball^{ce} In said Est^o. to remain a further time till a full and final adjustment of acco^{ts} can take place" (p. 212). The matter dragged on for a number of years. In April, 1808, the vestry "Resolved that the Church Wardens are hereby directed and authorized to liquidate the demands of the heirs of the Rev^d. m^r. Lewis against the Church and to settle the same either by an assignment of Notes due the Church or in money as they can best arrange it" (p. 257). The last record appears under date of October 1, 1810, when "Doc^t Findley presented an order from M^{rs} Wall late widow of the Rev^d Mr. Lewis for \$86.93 $\frac{3}{4}$ /100 — the same was immediately Paid" (p. 266).

³ These notes have been incorporated in Mr. Bowles's paper on "The Loyalty of Barnstable in the Revolution:" see pp. 265-345, above.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS spoke as follows on —

THE NAME "NEW ENGLAND" AS APPLIED
TO MASSACHUSETTS

Recently I have been led to renew my acquaintance with Frederick Freeman's History of Cape Cod. In glancing through the volumes, my eye caught the following:

When we first read in Gordon's History of the American Revolution, the passage: "Barnstable in New England and Ridgfield in Connecticut, have distinguished themselves in adopting measures different from the other towns in their respective colonies," we were led to pause with surprise that our patriotic shire-town should be thus presented.

And in a footnote Freeman adds:

We must pardon it in an Englishman that he did not know that both Massachusetts and Connecticut were parts of New England, and must bear in mind that these colonies were little known to either statesmen or literati of the parent country; indeed, at the present day, English writers do not exhibit much improvement either in knowledge of the geography of our country, or of its polity.¹

More than a decade ago I called attention to the use of the name "New England" as equivalent to Massachusetts, and rashly said that it would "form the subject of a future communication."² In fulfilment of that promise, I now bring together a few notes of a somewhat rambling character, for obviously it is only by chance that one can stumble on examples of the usage in question.

Born in England in 1728, William Gordon began his ministry in 1752 at Ipswich, England, and was ordained on October 9, 1754. In 1764 he abandoned that pastorate and held another at Southwark, which he retained until 1770, when he removed to this country. On July 6, 1772, after having preached to the society for a year, he was installed pastor of the Third Church, Roxbury,³ where

¹ F. Freeman, History of Cape Cod, ii. 310 and note. The passage quoted will be found in Gordon's History, London (1788), i. 423; New York (1789, 1794, 1901), i. 276.

² Our Publications, xiv. 360 note 1.

³ In a letter to James Bowdoin dated London, May 18, 1770, Gordon said: "I am coming over to America. Intend sailing with my wife & servant maid for Philadelphia or N. York, the latter end of July or beginning of August, but am

he remained until his dismissal on March 17, 1786,¹ after which he returned to England. He was made chaplain to the Provincial Congress on May 4, 1775;² preached "before the Honorable House of Representatives" on July 19, 1775; and again "before the General Court" on July 4, 1777;³ but on April 6, 1778, was dismissed as chaplain to the General Court.⁴

not certain where I shall settle" (1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, vii. 294). The preface to his "Plan of a Society for Making Provision for Widows, by Annuities for the Remainder of Life," is dated "Roxbury, May 20th, 1772." "We are assured," said the Boston Evening Post of July 6, 1772, "that the Rev'd Mr. William Gordon, late of London, who has officiated for a Year past, at the New Meeting House, belonging to the 3d Precinct in Roxbury, has accepted of the Church and Precinct's Invitation to the Pastoral Charge. We hear he is to be ordained this Day" (p. 3/1). In the same paper of July 13 there is an account of Gordon's installation, followed by this paragraph:

"The Notice given, both as to the Day and Time of Day when this Solemnity was to be performed, was designedly very short, in order to prevent those Riots and Irregularities that too often happen upon such Occasions; and the Design was fully answered, insomuch as that there was not the least Appearance throughout the whole Day of any thing but the greatest Decency and Order" (p. 1/3).

In the sketch of Gordon in the Dictionary of National Biography, it is said that "In 1772 he was pastor of the third church at Roxbury," and that "He was afterwards pastor of a congregation at Jamaica Plain." The writer of the sketch was in error in supposing that these were separate parishes, as they were one and the same parish. The Third Parish was organized on December 11, 1760 (F. S. Drake, History of Roxbury, p. 420) and incorporated on April 25, 1772 (Massachusetts Province Laws, v. 176-177). What was the Third Church of Roxbury is now the First Congregational (Unitarian) Church of Jamaica Plain.

¹ F. S. Drake, History of Roxbury, pp. 420-423.

² Journals Massachusetts Provincial Congress, pp. 189, 291, 393.

³ Both of these sermons were printed, as also (in 1775) "A Discourse preached In the Morning of December 15th 1774," a Thanksgiving sermon.

⁴ Four letters by Gordon, addressed "To the Freemen of the Massachusetts-Bay" and dated March 25, April 2, 9, and 17, 1778, were printed in the Independent Chronicle of April 2 (p. 1), April 9 (p. 2), April 16 (p. 1), and April 30 (p. 4). They were in criticism of the proposed Constitution that had recently been submitted to the voters. In his first letter Gordon said: "The Constitution, gentlemen, is submitted to your consideration — but how? In the lump — take or reject the whole — no alteration is proposed. Neither is it preceded or accompanied with a declaration of rights — the only instance of the kind upon the Continent." On April 4 a committee was ordered in the House "to consider whether the Publication in the last Independent Chronicle, signed *William Gordon*, merits the particular Notice of the General Court, and report what is proper to be done." Later in the day "a Report of the Committee of both Houses respecting Doct. *Gordon*" was read, considered and referred "to Mon-

Obviously, therefore, Gordon knew perfectly well that Barnstable was in Massachusetts and that both Massachusetts and Connecticut were in New England. Why, then, did he apply the name "New England" to Massachusetts? The reply is that it had been customary to do so in England for nearly a century and a half. Thus certain laws passed in Massachusetts in 1641 and 1642 were reprinted in London in 1643 under the title "*The Capitall Lawes of New-England*, as they stand now in force in the Common-Wealth. . . . First printed in *New-England*, and re-printed in London . . . 1643."¹ In 1704 was printed in London "*An Abridgement of the*

day next." On that day (April 6) the report passed both Houses. (House Journal, pp. 216, 217.) The resolve reads:

"Whereas the Rev^d Doct^r Gordon, (Chaplain to both Houses), by a publication under his signature in the Independent Chronicle of the 2^d Ins^t has grossly reflected upon the General Court as having acted a legerdmain part in assembling the late Convention for forming a Constitution of Civil Government, & misrepresented their conduct in that important business: Therefore

"*Resolved* that he be immediately dismissed from the service as Chaplain to both Houses of Assembly & that the Secretary serve him with a copy of this Resolve" (Massachusetts Province Laws, xx. 345).

In his History of Roxbury Drake stated that Gordon "attacked, in a most pungent manner, Article V of the proposed Constitution of Massachusetts, a matter that, as a foreigner, it would have been more prudent for him to have let alone. This article, published on April 2, 1778, was immediately followed by his summary dismissal from his office of chaplain to both houses of the Legislature" (p. 402). This is not quite accurate. Article V provided that "Every male inhabitant of any town in this State, being free, and twenty-one years of age, excepting Negroes, Indians, and Molattoes, shall be entitled to vote," etc. (Independent Chronicle, March 19, 1778, p. 1/2). Gordon's criticism of that article is found in his second letter, which was written April 2 but not published until April 9. "The completion of the 5th article," he wrote, "is blacker than that of any African; and if not altered, will be an everlasting reproach upon the present inhabitants; and evidence to the world, that they mean their own rights only, and not those of mankind, in their cry for liberty." In his fourth and last letter Gordon thus speaks of his dismissal:

"Whether the General Court have proceeded wisely or fairly, in dismissing me from their service, as chaplain, for some questions or paragraphs in the first letter, let the world judge, when told, that they had no positive direct proof of my having wrote it, neither having inquired of the printers if they received the original from me, nor called upon me to know whether I avowed it — and that they never gave me the opportunity of offering what I might have had to say in my defence, wherefore they should not take that mode of censuring me."

¹ Cf. our Publications, xvii. 116–118. Under what title these were printed at Cambridge cannot be stated, since no copy is known.

Laws In Force and Use in Her Majesty's Plantations; (Viz.) Of Virginia, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Maryland, New-England, New-York, etc." Near the end of the volume is "An Abridgement of the Laws and Ordinances of New-England," which appears to be an abridgement of the edition of "The General Laws and Liberties of the Massachusetts Colony" printed at Cambridge in 1672.¹ In a volume published in London in 1715 it was announced that "About the middle of this Month [January] *Elisha Burgess*, Esq; was declared Governor and Captain General of *New-England* and *New-Hampshire*, in the Room of Colonel *Joseph Dudley*." ² In 1716 an English work stated: "*August 5*. About this Time *Jeremiah Dummer*, Esq; was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of New-England;" ³ while another English work asserted that "Not many days after [the beginning of

Two years earlier there had been printed "An Abstract or [*sic*] the Lawes of New England, As they are novv established. London, . . . 1641." This code was drawn up by the Rev. John Cotton, but, "though often confused with the genuine Body of Liberties, it is well known to historical scholars that Cotton's Laws were never actually in force" (id. iv. 295, 297). The Abstract was probably printed from an imperfect manuscript preserved in the collection of the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey, but Mr. Worthington C. Ford is convinced that "there is not a stroke of Cotton's writing in these pages" — that is, in the pages of the manuscript in question. Probably they were prepared by some scrivener. In short, Cotton was not responsible for the printed title. Mr. Ford further thinks that the Abstract printed in 1641 "is nothing more than Moses's Judicials, and dates from 1636 rather than from 1641." The reference is to a manuscript in the hand of Cotton, in the Massachusetts Archives, entitled "How far Moses Judicials bind Mass[achusetts]." See Mr. Ford's article on "Cotton's 'Moses his Judicials,'" in 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xvi. 274-284. The 1641 Abstract was reprinted by William Aspinwall in London in 1655, when it bore a title which reads in part: "An Abstract of Laws and Government. . . . Collected and digested into the ensuing Method, by that Godly, Grave, and Judicious Divine, Mr. John Cotton, of Boston in New-England, in his Life-time, and presented to the generall Court of the Massachusetts." (Cf. our Publications, iv. 298.) It will be observed that "New England," as found in the 1641 edition, disappears from the title of the 1655 edition.

The Body of Liberties, prepared by the Rev. Nathaniel Ward and adopted in 1641, was first printed in 1843 from a manuscript owned by the Boston Athenæum which is entitled "A Coppie of the Liberties of the Massachusetts Collonie in New England." See 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 216-237.

¹ Cf. our Publications, xix. 14 note 9.

² Political State of Great Britain, January, 1715, ix. 81. Cf. our Publications, xiv. 360-note 1.

³ Historical Register, 1716, i. 359. Cf. our Publications, xvii. 92 note 7. "Jeremiah" Dummer is an error for William Dummer.

August], his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*, was pleased to appoint *Jeremiah Dummer*, Esq; to be Lieutenant Governor of *New-England*.”¹ An extract dated London, November 25, 1725, declared that “*Samuel Shute*, Esq; Governour of New England & New-Hampshire in America, is preparing to set out for that Government.”² A letter from a gentleman dated “*London, November 28th, 1729*,” announced that “*Yesterday His Majesty in Council appointed Mr. Belcher Governour of New-England, and to Morrow he is to kiss the KING’s Hand on that Occasion*.”³ In a letter to a London newspaper late in 1772 or early in 1773, “*Verax*” wrote:

I HAVE just read, in your Paper of Monday the 30th of November, a very extraordinary panegyric upon Mr. Hutchinson, the present Governor of New England, . . . Some time after the conclusion of the last war I crossed the Atlantic, and made the tour of all the British Colonies in North America; and . . . I never discovered even the least symptom of disaffection, or want of due submission to the Mother Country in any of them; . . . But however that may be, you are well authorized to say, whenever Mr. Hutchinson loses his Government, there is ONE, besides Bernard, who will be deprived of a pretty little QUARTERAGE on the SALARY lately established for the Governor of NEW ENGLAND.⁴

This last passage is a particularly interesting one, since it was written by an Englishman who had travelled in this country in or about 1763.

In New England itself, so far as I am aware, the name “New England” was never used in the restricted meaning as employed in the above extracts. But it should be pointed out that whereas, at the present time, we invariably say “Boston (Cambridge, etc.), Massachusetts,” yet such a phrase appears to have been almost if not quite unknown here until about the beginning of the Revolution, previous to which the almost invariable practice was to say “Boston (Cambridge, etc.) in New England” or “Boston (Cambridge, etc.), New England.” A hasty examination of over a

¹ Political State of Great Britain, August, 1716, xii. 156. Cf. our Publications, xvii. 92 note 7.

² Boston News Letter, February 3, 1726, p. 2/2.

³ New England Weekly Journal, February 9, 1730, p. 2/1.

⁴ Boston Gazette, June 14, 1773, p. 1/2-3.

thousand title-pages, imprints,¹ and colophons, yields the following results.

First, the laws published from 1648 to 1776 may be considered.² Those printed from 1648 to 1666 have only "Boston" in the titles and "Cambridge" in the imprints, and of course those two words occur repeatedly, each by itself, in later editions. In 1668 the title speaks of "the General Court, Held at Boston in New-England," though the imprint is still "Cambridge." The edition of 1675 was printed at "Cambridge in New-England." From 1677 to 1726 the words "Boston in New England" frequently occur in titles and several times (1685, 1689, 1692, 1696, 1697, 1701) in imprints. (Occasionally, as in 1708, the imprint is "Boston in N. E.") In 1742 both "Boston, N. E." and "Boston in New-England" occur in imprints. From 1743 to 1757 the usual imprint is either "Boston" or "Boston, N. E.," though once (1747) "Boston: New-England" is found. From 1757 to 1774 the imprints are "Boston" or "Boston: N. E." or "Boston; New-England." In 1775-1776 one colophon reads "Watertown," while four colophons read "Watertown: New-England."

Next, the House Journals, which were published from 1715 to 1775.³ In 1715-1721 the colophon is "Boston," except once (1720) when it is "Boston in New England." The imprint is "Boston" from 1722 to 1744; "Boston: N. E." from 1745 to 1766; "Boston, New-England" from 1767 to 1774; and "Watertown, New England" in 1775.

Thirdly, books, pamphlets, and broadsides published from 1643 to 1700.⁴ Most of those printed in Cambridge (1643-1692) have merely "Cambridge" or "Boston" in the imprints; but other imprints are as follows:

Cantabrigiae Nov. Ang. . . . 1643.

Cantabrigiæ Nov: Ang: . . . 1647.

¹ The word "imprint," as here used, includes colophons.

² Cf. our Publications, iv. 297-480.

³ Cf. our Publications, iv. 201-289.

⁴ Most of my examples are taken from a series of articles on "Early American Imprints," in which Dr. Samuel A. Green described six hundred books printed at Cambridge or Boston in the years 1643-1700: see 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, ix. 410-533, xi. 19-22, xii. 273-279, 380-423, xvii. 13-75. Three (1649, 1651, 1656) are taken from Robert F. Roden's *The Cambridge Press, 1638-1692* (1905).

Cambridge in New England . . . 1649.

Cambridg in New-England. . . . 1651.

Cambridg Printed by S. G. for Hezekiah Usher at Boston in New-England 1656.

Cambridge in New-England. 1659.

Cambridg Printed by S. G. and M. J. New-England. 1660.

Cantabrigiae Nov-Angliae . . . M.DC.LXX.

Cantabrigiae Nov-Anglorum . . . MDCLXXVIII.

The books and pamphlets printed in Boston (1674-1700) have "Boston" only in the imprints from 1674 to 1680. From 1681 to 1700 "Boston in New-England" are the words usually found. Other forms are as follows:

Bostonae Nov-Anglorum; . . . 1682.

The Boston Ephemeris. . . . By Nathanael Mather. New-England, Boston, . . . 1686.

Boston in N. E. . . . 1694.

An Almanack, . . . By John Tulley. . . . Boston, N. E. . . . 1696.

Phaenomena quaedam Apocalyptica Ad Aspectum Novi Orbis configurata. . . . By Samuel Sewall . . . Massachvset; Boston, . . . 1697¹

So far as title-pages are concerned, Boston and Cambridge are frequently described as "in New-England," or as "in N. E." Other towns in Massachusetts also are so described, as:

Animadversions upon the Antisynodalia Americana, . . . By John Allin, Pastor of the Church of Christ at Dedham in N. England. . . . 1664.

A Discourse of the last Judgement: . . . By Samuel Whiting, Pastor of the Church of Christ at Lynne in N. E. . . . 1664.

Abraham's Humble Intercession for Sodom, . . . By Samuel Whiting, Pastor of the Church of Christ at Lyn in N. E. . . . 1666.

Balm in Gilead to heal Sions Wounds: . . . By Thomas Walley, Pastor of the Church of Christ at Barnstable in New-England. . . . 1669.

The Life and Death of that Reverend Man of God, Mr. Richard Mather, teacher of the Church in Dorchester in New-England. . . . 1670. [By Increase Mather.]

¹ The earliest extant seal of Harvard College is appended to a testimonial dated July 3, 1701. The outside legend reads: "Sigillvm : Academiae : Harvardinae : Nov : Ang : " See our Publications, xx. 204, where the seal is reproduced in facsimile.

A brief Recognition of New-Englands Errand into the Wilderness; . . . By Samuel Danforth, Pastor of the Church of Christ in Roxbury in N. E. . . . 1671.

A Serious Exhortation to the Present and Succeeding Generation in New-England; . . . By Eleazer Mather, late Pastor of the Church in Northampton in New-England . . . [1671]

David serving his Generation, . . . By Samvel Arnold Teacher of the Church of Christ at Marshfield in New England. . . . 1674.

An Elegie upon the Death of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Shepard, late Teacher of the Church of Christ at Charlstown in New-England: . . . 1677.

Man's chief End to Glorifie God, . . . By the Reverend Mr. John Bailey, . . . now Pastor to the Church of Christ in Watertown in New-England. . . . 1689.

This form of description continued in general use until towards the close of the eighteenth century. Thus there were incorporated in 1772 "the Marine Society at Salem, in New England;" in 1773 "the Marine Society at Marblehead, in New England;" and in 1777 "the Marine Society at Newburyport, in New England."¹

Thus it is well established that it was customary in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to describe a Massachusetts town as being "in New England." It would be rash to make such a statement in regard to towns in New England but not in Massachusetts, and yet there are some instances of such a practice, or a near approach to it. The following descriptions have been noted.

An Holy Connexion, . . . As it was delivered in a Sermon preached at Hartford on Conecticut in N. E. May 14. 1674. . . . By James Fitch, Pastor of the Church of Christ in Norwich. . . . 1674.

George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrovves, . . . By R. W. of Providence in N. E. . . . 1676.

Righteousness Rained from Heaven, . . . As it was Delivered in a Sermon Preached at Hartford on Connecticut in New-England, May 10. 1677. . . . By Mr. Samuel Hooker, Pastor of the Church of Christ in Farmington. . . . 1677.

The First Principles [*sic*] of the Doctrine of Christ; . . . Published at the desire, and for the use of the Church of Christ in Norwich in New-England. By James Fitch Pastor of that Church. . . . 1679.

¹ Massachusetts Province Laws, v. 179-180, 295-296, 737-738. My attention was called to the Marine Society at Salem by Mr. Stephen W. Phillips.

A Brief Discourse Proving that the First Day of the Week is the Christian Sabbath: . . . By Mr. James Fitch Pastor of the Church in Norwich in New England. . . . 1683.

Johannes in Eremo. Memoirs, Relating to the Lives, of . . . and Mr. Thomas Hooker, who Dyed, 5. d. 2. m. 1647. Pastor of the Church at Hartford; New-England. . . . 1695.

When towns in Massachusetts were described here as "in New England," no doubt "New England" meant New England as a whole. Evidently in some way, though exactly how it is difficult to see, there was on the other side of the Atlantic confusion between New England as a whole and Massachusetts in particular.¹ Perhaps the fact that Massachusetts was the most important of the New England colonies had something to do with it.

Mr. MATTHEWS also made the following communication:

DRAUGHT OF A ROYAL CHARTER FOR
HARVARD COLLEGE, 1723

The charters of Harvard College present a not uninteresting study. No fewer than eight have been proposed, of which five (1650, 1672, 1692, 1697, 1700) have gone into effect for more or less prolonged periods. Of the three charters that did not go into effect, one (1696) was rejected by the College, one (1699) was vetoed by Governor Bellomont, and one (1723) never, so far as I have been able to ascertain, got beyond the brain of its presumable draughter.

The original charter of 1650, reinforced by its successor of 1672,² remained in force until 1686. When the colony charter of 1629 was vacated in 1684, it was held by some that the college charter fell with it — or, to use a contemporary phrase more expressive than elegant, "the calf died in the cow's belly," the calf being the college charter

¹ Could Mr. Freeman have lived until 1902, he would have been delighted with an inscription on a tablet in memory of Simon Willard (1604–1676) in that year set into the wall of Canterbury Cathedral. In this inscription are references to "the British Colony of New England, America, 1634," to "the British Forces," and to "the American Commonwealth." See our Publications, xii. 134.

² See "The Harvard College Charter of 1672," in our Publications, xxi. 363–402.

and the cow the colony charter.¹ On the arrival in May, 1686, of Dudley's commission as President of the Council for New England, both charters fell into abeyance, but were revived on the overthrow of Andros in April, 1689, and remained in force until the coming of Phips in May, 1692, with the new province charter of 1691. Then the colony charter fell for good and all, while the college charter once more went into eclipse — this time for a period of nearly sixteen years.

With the arrival of the province charter in 1692 began a period of college charter-mongering that lasted eight years, during which five charters were proposed. As already stated, two of these did not go into effect. Of the other three, those of 1692 and 1697 were disallowed by the Privy Council. Down to 1700, all the proposed charters had been passed by the General Court in regular form as laws. As the charters of 1692 and 1697 had been disallowed in England, in 1700 the General Court adopted a different course and passed a draught of a royal charter to be presented to the king for his signature. As the coveted signature was never obtained, the charter of 1700, like its two predecessors, went to the scrap heap. So far as the college officials were concerned, those appointed under the charter of 1700 were continued in office by successive governors. But President Mather resigned in 1701, Vice President Willard did the same in August, 1707, and the College sunk into so languishing a condition that late in 1707 steps were taken to bring order out of chaos. These were successful, the original charter of 1650 was restored, and on January 14, 1708, John Leverett was inaugurated President and the number of Fellows was reduced from fifteen to five by Governor Dudley himself.² And under the charter of 1650 the College has ever since been governed.

It has always been supposed that the draught of a royal charter passed in 1700 was the last effort in charter making. It is now possible to state that such in fact was not the case and that still

¹ In a letter to Governor Dudley dated January 20, 1708, Increase Mather wrote: "I am afraid that you cannot clear yourself from the guilt of much hypocrisy and falseness in the affair of the college. In 1686, when you accepted of an illegal arbitrary commission from the late K. James, you said, that the cow was dead, and therefore the calf in her belly; meaning the charter of the college and colony" (1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iii. 126).

² Full particulars of the charters will be found in the Introduction to Volume xv of our Publications.

another effort was made — or at least contemplated — in 1723. This obviously grew out of the difficulties that had recently taken place over the attempt of the Tutors to obtain seats in the Corporation on the ground that they were Fellows in the meaning of that word as used in the charter of 1650. While gathering material for a paper on that subject,¹ I was immensely surprised at finding the draught of a royal charter wholly in the hand of President Leverett. It is not dated, but internal evidence shows that it was drawn up in 1723. It provided for a President, a Vice-President, a Treasurer, and fourteen Fellows, and hence reverted to the form favored in the charters drawn up between 1692 and 1700. Notable features were that John Leverett was to be President "for and during his natural life," that the Vice-President was to be annually elected, that among the Fellows was included only one of the Tutors, and that the College was to have a person "to be present in the House of Representatives."

It is reasonable to assume that this document, besides being in the hand of Leverett, was actually draughted by him; but the singular thing is that apparently it never came before either the Corporation or the Overseers, and that no allusion to it has ever been found.

A table giving the dates of the charters, the number of the Corporation in each, and the number of Fellows who were also Tutors, will prove useful. In the charters of 1650 and 1672, nothing is said about Tutors, but as a matter of fact from 1650 to 1692 of the five Fellows always two and occasionally three were Tutors. Nor is anything said about Tutors in the charter of 1692, but of the eight Fellows named two were Tutors. In the charter of 1697 there is mention of "Fellows of the House" and of "Fellows receiving salaries;"² but the word Tutor does not occur, and the Tutors were wholly left out of the Corporation. In the charters of 1699 and 1700 it was specified that two of the Tutors should be Fellows. In the charter of 1723, nothing is said about Tutors in connection with the Corporation, but of the fourteen Fellows named one (Henry Flynt) was a Tutor. The charter of 1696 is omitted from the table because

¹ Cf. p. 254, above.

² The precise meaning of the terms "Fellows of the House" and "Fellows receiving salaries," as here used, is somewhat uncertain. But apparently "Fellows of the House" meant Fellows of the Corporation, and "Fellows receiving salaries" meant Tutors.

the only known draught is so defective by reason of omissions, deletions, and interlineations that its provisions are uncertain.

CHARTER	PRESIDENT	VICE PRESIDENT	TREASURER	FELLOWS	TUTORS ALSO FELLOWS
1650	1	0	1	5	2 or 3
1672	1	0	1	5	2 or 3
1692	1	0	1	8	2
1697	1	1	1	14	0
1699	1	1	0	15	2 ¹
1700	1	1	0	15	2 ¹
1723	1	1	1	14	1

DRAUGHT OF A ROYAL CHARTER FOR HARVARD COLLEGE, 1723²

George by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defend^r of the Faith &c To all unto whom these our Present Letters shall come Greeting. Whereas there hath bin for more then Seventy years past in the Town of Cambridge in the County of Middlesex wthin our Province of the Massachusets Bay in New England in America a certain place of Universall Study or College of Divinity, Philosophy, Languages, and other good Liberall Arts and Sciences, a Society com^{on} called and known by the Name of Harvard College, where many psons of approved Worth have by the Blessing of Almighty God been Educated, Instructed and the better fitted for Publick Employ^{ts} both in the Church and in the Civil State; And whereas the Incuragm^t of good Littérature Arts and Sciences will tend to the Honour of God, the Advantage of the Christian Protestant Religion, and the great Benefit of Our Subjects inhabiting within Our Province afores^d both in the present and Succeeding Generations. And Whereas Sundry of our Good Subjects interested in, and piously Concerned our s^d Province of the Massachusets Bay in New England and Some of them, great Benefact^{rs} to, and others Educated in the afores^d College, by their humble Address have Supplicated our Royall Grace and favour in the Settlm^t and establishm^t of the s^d College, That it may be don in Such a manner, as we in our Princely Wisdom may Judge most Effectuall to Secure the same to be a Nursery of good Learning and manners, and for supplying the Church in our S^d Province with able Learned Ministers of the New Testam^t, agreeable to the Cheif End & Intent of the first found^{rs} of & Benefact^{rs} to the s^d College

¹ In each of these charters, thirteen Fellows are named and in addition "the two senior Tutors residing at the College for the time being."

² Ewer Papers, i. 60 (New England Historic Genealogical Society). The original has no heading.

Wee taking the Premisses seriously into our Royall Consideration, and Earnestly desiring that as far as in us Lyes True Philosophy and other good Arts, and Liberall Sciences may be promoted, and that the Orthodox faith may be Propagated, and being Willing that forever hereafter there sh^d be a Certain Place or College of Universall Study, and a Certain way within the said College for the Rule and Governm^t of the same and of the Masters Profess^{rs} Tut^{rs} and Stud^{ts} and all others Inhabiting and residing therein, and that the s^d College sh^d Subsist and remain in all time coming of o^r Special Grace, Certain knowledge and meer Motion Have Willed and Ordained, and we do by these presents for us, Our heirs and Success^{rs} Will & Ordain, That for the promoting the Studies of true Philosophy, the Languages, & all good Arts and Liberall Sciences, and for the Propagating the Pure Gospel of Christ Our Lord, to the Glory of Almighty God, and benefit of Our Good Subjects both English and Indians within Our Dominions in America, there Shalbe a Certain place of Universall Study or Perpetual College of Divinity, Philosophy, the Languages and all good Arts & Liberal Sciences, And further, of our Special Grace, certain knowledge and meer Motion Wee have Willed, and Ordained, and by these presents Wee do Will and Ordain for us our heirs & Successors That the above-mention Harvard College in Cambridge in the County of Middlesex wthin Our Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England be and Continue A Place of Universall Study or Perpetual College of Divinity, Philosophy, Languages and all Good and Laudable Arts and Liberal Sciences, Wherefore further of Our Special Grace, certain knowledge and meer motion Wee have Willed and Ordained, And We do by these Presents for us our heirs and Success^{rs} Will & Ordain that the s^d College in Cambridge in the County of Middls^x wthin Our Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New-England afores^d from hence for shalbe and remain A Corporation consisting of _____ psons (That is to Say) One Presid^t One Vice-Presid^t and _____ Fellows and One Treasurer; And Seeing by the Election of the Fellows of the s^d College and with the Approbation of the Gen^l Assembly of Our Province of the Massachusetts Bay afores^d And their repeated Encouragm^{ts} John Leverett A Master of Arts And for sundry years A Fellow of the s^d College, hath upwards of fifteen years Last past ¹ sus-

¹ Of the Fellows named in the charter, Joseph Belcher died April 27, 1723, and Henry Gibbs died October 21, 1723. Hence, as Leverett became President on January 14, 1708, the document must have been drawn up not before January 14 or after April 27, 1723. It seems likely that the earliest date is February 5: see p. 395 note 2, below.

tained the office & Title & pformed the services of y^e Presid^t of Harvard College, We of our Special Grace, Certain knowledge and meer Motion do approve Confirm and ratiefy, and by these present do make Create and establish the s^d John Leverett to be our first Presid^t of our s^d College *for and during his Naturall Life*, and Peter Thatcher¹ master of Arts also shalbe Vice-Presid^t John Danforth, Henry Gibbs, John Hancock, Joseph Belcher, Benjamin Wadsworth, Benj^a Colman, Henry Flynt, Simon Bradstreet, W^m Williams Joseph Sewall, Thomas Prince, Edward Wigglesworth, Nathaniel Applton and William Cooper Masters of Art, shalbe the 14 Fellows² and Edward Hutchinson Esq^r³ shalbe the Treasurer of the s^d College all of them being Inhabitants in our Province of the Massachusets Bay afores^d and shalbe the first seventeen psons of whom the s^d Corporation shall Consist.

Which s^d John Leverett, Peter Thatcher, John Danforth, Henry Gibbs, John Hancock, Joseph Belcher, Benjamin Wadsworth, Benj^a Colman Henry Flynt, Simon Bradstreet, W^m Williams, Joseph Sewall, Thomas Prince Edw^d Wigglesworth, Nath^l Applton, William Cooper & Edw^d Hutchinson and their success^{rs} shall forever hereafter be One

¹ Rev. Peter Thacher (H. C. 1671; *d* 1727).

² The fourteen Fellows were:

Rev. Nathaniel Appleton (H. C. 1712; *d* 1784); Fellow, 1717-1779.

Rev. Joseph Belcher (H. C. 1690; *d* 1723).

Rev. Simon Bradstreet (H. C. 1693; *d* 1741).

Rev. Benjamin Colman (H. C. 1692; *d* 1747); Fellow, 1717-1728.

Rev. William Cooper (H. C. 1712; *d* 1743).

Rev. John Danforth (1677; *d* 1730); Fellow, 1697-1707.

Henry Flynt (H. C. 1693; *d* 1760); Tutor, 1699-1754; Fellow, 1700-1760.

Rev. Henry Gibbs (H. C. 1685; *d* 1723); Fellow, 1700-1707.

Rev. John Hancock (H. C. 1689; *d* 1752).

Rev. Thomas Prince (H. C. 1707; *d* 1758).

Rev. Joseph Sewall (H. C. 1707; *d* 1769); Fellow, 1728-1765.

Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth (H. C. 1690; *d* 1737); Fellow, 1697-1707, 1712-1725.

Rev. Edward Wigglesworth (H. C. 1710; *d* 1765); Fellow, 1724-1765.

Rev. William Williams (H. C. 1705; *d* 1760).

Of these, Henry Flynt was at once the only layman and the only Tutor. Appleton, Colman, Flynt, and Wadsworth were already Fellows when the charter was draughted. This leaves one Fellow unaccounted for. Thomas Robie (chosen a Tutor in 1714) had been elected a Fellow in 1722, but resigned on February 5, 1723, and the vacancy was not filled by the Corporation until June 4, 1723. Either, then, Leverett wished for some reason to drop Robie from the Corporation; or, more probably, the charter was not drawn up until after Robie's withdrawal.

³ Edward Hutchinson, though not a graduate, was Treasurer of the College from 1721 to his death in 1752.

Body Politick and Corporate in fact and name to all intents and purposes in the Law by the Name of the Presid^t and Fellows of Harvard College of Cambridge in New England and by that name they shall have ppetual succession, and by the same Name they and their Success^{rs} may and shalbe Capable & Enabled, and by these presents We for us o^r heirs & success^{rs} do Capacitate and enable them as well to Implead as be impleaded, to sue and be sued, to defend, and to be defended and to psecute, demand and answer and be answered unto in all & singular suits, causes Complaints Quarrels and actions real psonal & mixt of whatsoever kind & nature they may or shalbe in What-soever Courts & places of Judicature belonging to us our heirs and success^{rs} or to any other pson or psons whatsoever before all sorts of Justices & Judges in whatsoever Kingdoms, Countreys, Colonys Dominions, Provinces or Plantations belonging to us or our heirs & success^{rs} and to do act and rec^v these and all other things in the same manner as our other Liege subjects, psons able and capable in Law within our Province of the Massachusetts Bay afores^d or our Kingdome of Great Britain do or may act in the s^d Courts & places of Judicature & before the s^d Justices and Judges. And further of speciall gr^c certain knowledge and Meer Motion We have granted, and given Leave, Authorized and Impower'd and by these presents for us our heirs & success^{rs} do grant, give leave, authorize & impower the s^d J. L. & to their success^{rs} to take acquire and purchase or recieve upon free Gift or Donation & to hold and enjoy any Land, Tenem^{ts} or Hereditam^{ts}, to the Value of £ and no more; And any Goods Chattels su^m or su^ms of money, Plate and psonal Estate whatsoever to the Use and behoof of the s^d Corporation, and the same to Lease, grant demise imploy and dispose together with the revenues, Issues & pfts thereof for the support & Incouragm^t of Learning, and of the Presid^t Fell[ows] and Scholars, and of the Profess^{rs} Tut^{rs} and other officers of the s^d College, Such as Steward, Cook, Bedels &c and mæni^{al} as also for the Accomodation of Building[s] Books and other necessary pvision and furniture as may be for the Advancm^t & Education of Youth in all manner of Good Literature Arts and Sciences: Provided always & it is our Royal intent purpose and pleasure that the s^d Presid^t and Fellows in all the s^d Disposals shal forever faithfully observe, and do according to the wil of the Don^{rs}. And We do further Grant & ordain That the s^d Presid^t & Fellows & their Success^{rs} May & shal have forever one Co^mon Seal to be used in All Causes and on all Occasions of the s^d Corpora^con, and the same seal may alter change break & new-make from time to time at their pleasure.

And further we do for us our heirs and success^{rs} Grant Establish and

Ordain, That the Presid^t V. P. and the Fellows of the s^d Corporation or any of them shalbe removable and may be deprived and displaced by the s^d Corporation for disability or misdemeanor, saving to the Party aggrieved his appeal to the Visitors, and that when and so often from time to time as any of the s^d Corporation shal dye or be removed, the s^d Corpora^on shalbe and is hereby Impower'd and authorized to Elect anew Presid^t V. P. or Fellows in the room and stead of such Member or Members of the s^d Corpora^on so dieing or removed; and that a Vice-Presid^t of the s^d Corporation be annually Elected upon the fourth Wednesday after the Co^menem^t day from time to time altho not Occasion'd by death or removall; And We do further for us our heir and Success^{rs} Will and Establish, That when and So Often as any Fellow of the Corporation shal remove himself so as to be Absent out of o^r Province of the Massachusetts Bay afores^d by the space of Six moneths without the Leave or Licence of the Corporation He shal ipso facto be dismiss'd and no Longer Continue to be of the Corporation, & his place Shalbe Supply'd wth the Election of A New Member; And That upon the Death or Removal and dismission of the Presid^t V. P. or any of the fellows Such Vacancy Shalbe filled up wthin the Space of three moneths next after. And further, of our Special grace Certain Knowledge & meer motion, for us Our heirs and Success We do by these presents grant & Ordain, That the s^d Corporation shall have full power & Authority to Elect Appoint and Settle Profess^{rs} Tut^{rs} a Publick Orator, A Proctor or Proctors, and All other Officers belonging to an Academy requisite for the better Inspecting and Instituting the Stud^{ts} and Member y^of in all Liberal Arts Sciences, Learned Faculties And good manners according to the Orders & Statutes of the s^d College to be made & Established for the Good & Wholesome Governm^t of the s^d College and all that bear Office, or reside therein or belong thereto.

And further Wee do by these presents for us our heirs and Success^{rs} Grant establish and Ordain That the Presid^t for the time being of the Corporation and in Case of his Death or Absence, the Vice Presid^t for the time being of the same shal and may from time to time pro re nata at any other time besides the stated and fixed times above men^on'd appoint and ¹ Assembling and meeting together of the s^d Corporation to Consult and Advise of, Debate Direct and determine upon the Affairs and busieness of the Corporation to Choose Officers as afores^d As also Menial Serv^{ts} the s^d Menial Serv^{ts} not to exceed the Number of thirteen, three for the Presid^t One for the Vice Presid^t and One for the Profess^r of

¹ Here the words "Order the" are apparently crossed out.

Divinity and eight for the College and them to remove and upon death or removal to chuse such others, and to Appoint Salarys, and make Suitable Allow^{ces} to them, And to make Statutes orders and Laws for the better Ordering the Affairs and Governm^t of the s^d College or Academy So as Such Orders Statutes and Laws be not repugn^t or Contrary to the Laws of Our Realm of Great Britain, or to the Laws of our Province of the Massachusetts Bay, And that any tenn or more of the Members of the s^d Corporation whereof the Presid^t or Vice presid^t to be One being so Assembled shalbe taken held and reputed to be a full sufficient and Lawfull Assembly for the Ordering directing and Concluding of the Affairs busienesses and Occurr^{ces} of the s^d Corporation; and that in case of the Death or removall or Absence out of our s^d Province, The Seni^r Fellow for the time being residing in Cambridge may call and hold a Corporation untill the return or New Election of A Presid^t A V. Presid^t: Provided nevertheless and our Will and Pleasure is, That no meeting shalbe held for the displacing or New Election of any Member or Members of the s^d Corporation, for the Nominating and Appointing Proffess^{rs} Proct^{rs} Orators Tut^{rs} or other officers, or the making statutes, rules orders or By-Laws for the ordering the affairs & Governm^{ts} of the s^d College or for the Purching,¹ Selling or Letting Lands or Tenem^{ts} or Disposal of the stock or Revenues belonging to the s^d College, without Issuing out a Sumons and Notification directed to Each member of the s^d Corporation in Writing under the hand seal of the Presid^t or other pson that may call & hold a meeting of the s^d Corporation intimating the time and Occasion of Calling such Meeting five days at least before hand.

And our further Will and Pleasure is, That in passing of all Votes and Acts of the Corporation in any of the Meetings thereof the Determination shalbe made by the maj^r p^t of those assembled, the Presid^t of the s^d Meeting having a Double Vote.

And We do by these Presents for us our heirs and Success^{rs} further Grant establish and Ordain, That the Presid^t of the s^d Corporation and the Profess^{rs} shall reside in Cambridge, as also all the Fellows and Tut^{rs} receiving Salarys from the Corporation out of the College-revenue shall reside within the s^d College, and that no One shall Enjoy a Fellowship or Tutorship with such salary for more then four years unless continued by a New Election.

And That the Persons and Estates of the s^d Presid^t Fellows Profess^{rs} and other officers concerned in the Governm^t and Institution of the stud^{ts} residing at the College, shalbe Exempt free from all Rates

¹ Evidently intended for "Purchasing."

and Taxes and likewise that the s^d Presid^t Vice-Presid^t Fellows of the s^d Corpora^on and the Officers afores^d with their Domestick or Menial serv^{ts} shalbe Exempt from all psonal Civil Offices, Military Offices Military Exercises, Watchings and Wardings. And Whereas it is a Laudable Custom in Unīv^{rs}itys, whereby Learning hath bin Encouraged and Advanced to Conferr Academatical Degrees or Titles on those who by their good manners & Proficiency as to knowledge in Theology, Law, Physick Mathematicks Philosophy, and other Liberal arts and the Learned Languages have bin Judge worthy therof We do therefore further of Our special grace Certaine Knowledge and meer motion by these present for us our heirs & success^{rs} Will grant and Ordain That the Presid^t and Fellows of the afores^d Corporation shal have power and Authority from time to time to grant and Admitt to Academatical Degrees, as in the Universitys in Our Kingdom of Great Britain such as in Respect of Learning and Good manners they shal find Worthy to be promoted thereunto.

And also of our Special Grace, certain knowledg & meer motion We have given and Granted And by these pres^{ts} for us our heirs and Success^{rs} do give and Grant to the said Presid^t Fellows Profess^{rs} and Masters of Art of the s^d College and resid^{ts} in the Town of Cambr. and belonging thereto, and of Lawfull Age full and absolute power Liberty and Authority to Nominate Elect and Constitute One Discreet and Able Person of their Own Number Or of the Better Sort of Inhabitants of our Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, having bin Educated and Graduated as afores^d in the s^d College or in any of the Universitys in Our kingd. of Great Britaine, to be present in the House of Representatives of the Great and Gen^l Court or Assembly of our Province of the Massachusetts Bay afores^d, And there to Act & Consent to Such things, as by Co^mon Advice of o^r s^d Province

And Whereas there have bin heretofore Divers Gifts Grants, Divises of Houses Lands, Tenem^{ts} Goods, Chattels Legacie & Convey^{ces} made unto the s^d College or to y^e Presid^t and Fellows thereof, We do for us our heirs and Success^{rs} ratify and Confirm the s^d Gifts grants, Devises, Legacies, Convey^{ces} and Every of them according to the true Intent of the Don^r or Don^{rs} Grat^r or Grant^{rs} Devis^r & Devis^{rs} And further of our Speciall grace certain and certain knôle and meer motion have Granted We have given and granted by these pres^{ts} for us our heirs & success^{rs} do give and grant our special Lycence as far as in us lyes to All and any pson or psons piously disposed whatsoever, that they or any of them may & shal have power to give grant devise, assign & bequeath any Lands Tenem^{ts} Rents Services Portions Annuities psons

and Exhibitions & all manner of Inheritances Franchises and possessions to the s^d Presid^t and Fellows of y^e s^d College for the time being & their Success^{rs} what Soever to the Value of Two thousand pounds p annum

Mr. ALFRED JOHNSON communicated a Memoir of HENRY HERBERT EDES, which Mr. Johnson had been requested to prepare for publication in the Transactions of the Society.

MEMOIR

OF

HENRY HERBERT EDES, A.M.

BY
ALFRED JOHNSON

HENRY HERBERT EDES, a founder of this Society and its only Treasurer for thirty years, was born at Charlestown 29 March, 1849, and died at his home in Cambridge 13 October, 1922. In the list of the fourteen incorporators of the Society his name stood fifth; at the time of his death he had been the senior member for eight years, and he is survived by only two of his fellow-incorporators.

So far as is known, the lineage of Henry Edes was wholly Anglo-Saxon. His paternal line may be traced back in England for five generations, to one Henry Edes of Bocking, co. Essex, whose estate was administered by his son Henry 3 July, 1574, and whose great-grandson, the Rev. John Edes, was the most prominent English representative of the family.

This Rev. John Edes, a graduate of St. John's College, Cambridge, was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1610 and to that of Master of Arts in 1614, and for forty-one years prior to his death, which occurred on 12 April, 1658, was rector of Lawford, co. Essex, retaining this benefice in spite of his Nonconformist opinions.¹ His tomb may be seen in the churchyard at Lawford, and the railing around it has been recently restored by some of his American descendants. His son John was the father of a third John Edes, who was the founder of the American branch of this family.

This immigrant to New England, John Edes, born at Lawford, co. Essex, 31 March, 1651, and baptized 6 April, 1651, settled at Charles-

¹ Cf. T. W. Davids, *Annals of Evangelical Non-Conformists in Essex* (1863), p. 156.

town, Massachusetts, where he followed the occupation of a ship carpenter and married, 15 October, 1674, Mary, daughter of Peter Tufts of Medford. He died in 1693, but his widow was living in 1707. His son, John Edes, cordwainer, baptized 22 August, 1680, married, 13 April, 1698, Grace, daughter of George and Elizabeth Lawrence, and died 16 January, 1721, aged 42. His widow died 9 August, 1758. Peter Edes, hatter, son of John, born 15 September, 1705, married first, 18 December, 1729, Esther, daughter of Stephen and Grace (Willis) Hall, and removed later to Harvard, where he died 25 January, 1787. Their son, Thomas Edes, of Charlestown, leather dresser, born 26 September, 1737, married, 28 May, 1761, Mary, daughter of David and Ruth Wood, and died 5 February, 1792. He was a soldier in the French and Indian War, enlisting in 1756 in Thomas Lord's company, Colonel Richard Gridley's regiment. It was at the home of his brother, Benjamin Edes, of the firm of Edes & Gill, famed as publishers of the *Boston Gazette*, that the convivial meeting preceding the Boston Tea Party took place.¹ Thomas Edes, the only child of Thomas and Mary (Wood) Edes, baptized 15 August, 1762, married, 26 November, 1788, Mary, daughter of Robert and Elizabeth (Wait) Ball, and died 5 April, 1818. His son, Robert Ball Edes, a well-known master mariner, born 3 September, 1789, married first, 18 January, 1818, Sarah, daughter of Josiah and Penelope (Hatch) Barker, and was the father of Henry Augustus Edes, who was born 16 January, 1824, married, 8 June, 1848, Sarah Louisa, daughter of Hawkes and Sarah (Webb) Lincoln, and died 28 August, 1851. Henry Augustus Edes was the father of the subject of this memoir.²

On both sides of his house Henry Herbert Edes was descended from Mayflower and colonial ancestors whose names are well known in his country's annals. On her paternal side his mother belonged to one of the Lincoln families of Hingham, that of Thomas the Weaver; on her maternal side she was allied with the Coffins of Nantucket, through her great-grandmother, Sarah, daughter of

¹ The India china punch-bowl, from which the brew was drunk, was given to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1871 (1 *Proceedings*, xii. 174-176, 178, 180). The house was in Cornhill, part of which formed the alley leading to Brattle Street.

² Cf. Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, i. 319-323.

Charles and Mary (Barrett) Coffin, who married John Leach of London. This great-grandfather, before emigrating to this country, was imprisoned in the Tower of London for corresponding with Wilkes; and he was also incarcerated here in the same prison, the Boston gaol, with Peter Edes, son of the Benjamin Edes mentioned above, and for kindred reasons, namely, his Revolutionary opinions.¹

Henry Herbert Edes was only about two and a half years of age when his father died. He and his mother then made their home with his grandfather Lincoln in Charlestown, where he attended the public schools. It was his great ambition to obtain a college education; but, all the Lincoln property having been lost by the defalcation of a partner, the entire support of the family devolved upon his uncles, and, when the time came to enter Harvard College, but one uncle, George Lincoln, was living. Henry felt that he had no right to accept so great a sacrifice from his uncle as the maintenance of the family while he was in college, as well as the expense of the college course, would entail, and therefore he entered upon a business career. A fortunate decision this, since the death of his uncle, when Henry was in his early twenties, brought upon his shoulders the entire support of his mother and her two sisters, a burden borne with uncomplaining courage, devotion, and tenderness for over forty years.

His early business affiliations during eighteen years were with the Everett Mills, but in 1889 he resigned his position with that company to become manager and treasurer of the Conveyancers Title Insurance Company of Boston. The success of this corporation may be said to be due in no small measure to his business acumen and foresight and not less to his unfailing courtesy and consideration towards both clients and employees. Long before the modern theories of salesmanship had been exploited, he had grasped their essentials and made of himself an expert salesman of the best type.

From early manhood all his leisure was devoted to genealogical and historical research, and his friendships were largely with men older than himself. Among them was the descendant of one of the early settlers in Charlestown, Thomas Bellows Wyman, a somewhat eccentric bachelor, wholly given over to genealogical pursuits. He

¹ Both men kept journals during their imprisonment, the original manuscripts of which were left by Mr. Edes to this Society.

was probably one of the first to espouse genealogy as a calling, and in his multifarious researches he became possessed of unusually extensive knowledge of the former residents of Charlestown. Realizing the value of Mr. Wyman's extraordinary and comprehensive information, Mr. Edes, with the utmost difficulty, succeeded in persuading the City Council of Charlestown to pass a measure authorizing the publication of the results of Mr. Wyman's work in genealogy and of his researches in probate and land records. With infinite happiness the old gentleman began what he felt to be the crown of his life's work; but, while it was still in a comparatively early stage, he fell ill of pneumonia, and, realizing that the end was near, he sent for Mr. Edes and adjured him to see these precious volumes properly put forth. This trust was assumed on the death of Mr. Wyman, 19 May, 1878, and was fulfilled at the expense of untold labor and with the painstaking care which Mr. Edes gave to everything to which he set his hand, with the result that Wyman's *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown* has become a classic of its kind.

While he lived in Charlestown, he also published more or less genealogical work of his own, and wrote the *History of the Harvard Church in Charlestown* and the second volume of the *Annals of King's Chapel*, a work undertaken by the Rev. Henry Wilder Foote and left incomplete at his death.

In 1896 he took up his residence in Cambridge, having married on December 2nd in that year Grace, daughter of William Cross and Sarah Howland (Ricketson) Williamson of Boston, who survives him. Mrs. Edes's father, an eminent Boston lawyer, was of the distinguished Harvard Class of 1852, a brother of the Hon. Joseph Williamson of Belfast, Maine, the well-known local historian and antiquary, and a nephew of the Hon. William Durkee Williamson, Governor and historian of the State of Maine.

Henry Edes's mother had spared no effort to foster in him principles and noble aims, material to the development of character, and everything had been done to render his home happy. But, growing up wholly surrounded by an older generation, he had necessarily missed the care-free joys of boyhood. With his marriage and removal to Cambridge, for the first time youth, joy, and gayety came to him. He was many years older than his wife, and their characters were

singularly unlike, with the result that each complemented the other. Almost their greatest pleasure was in pursuing together the literary work they both loved so dearly, wherein each was the other's chief critic and inspiration.¹ Added to this companionship was a constantly widening circle of friendships, especially with younger people, which brought new brightness into his life, while the unfolding of new interests broadened his outlook in a way impossible in his former restricted surroundings. His honorary degree of Master of Arts from Harvard (1906)² and his increasing association with the College, whose loyal son he had been at heart long before she adopted him, did their part in his development. He was appointed Editor of the Harvard Quinquennial Catalogue in 1916, and found the duties involved in this task well suited to his tastes. He was also a member of the committee appointed by the Board of Overseers to visit the Department of History.

In 1892 Mr. Edes threw himself with enthusiasm into the work of organizing our Society and establishing it on a firm basis. Besides being its first Treasurer, he was a member of the Committee of Publication in 1893 and again from 1901 to 1922, and he edited Volumes III, V, and VI. The Society's present endowment is largely a monument to his untiring efforts to secure money and legacies. His taste in typography was unerring; and to him, in collaboration with the late John Wilson of the University Press, is due the beautiful format of the Society's Publications. His affiliations with kindred societies included the following: American Academy of

¹ In the preface to her *Annals of the Harvard Class of 1852*, published in 1922, Mrs. Edes acknowledges her indebtedness to her husband, "to whose meticulous care in the reading of the proof and constant encouragement under the many difficulties that have arisen, in addition to the incentive of his interest, the volume is indebted for anything of value that it may hold."

² On Commencement Day, June 27, 1906, President Eliot conferred this honorary degree upon Mr. Edes, characterizing him as "Henry Herbert Edes, New England antiquarian and annalist, accurate reproducer of a revered past."

In a letter to Mrs. Edes dated February 8, 1923, Dr. Eliot wrote: "I hope your husband realized how much I admired his historical and antiquarian learning, and his devoted labors in both subjects. For years I noticed his memorial zeal on behalf of the First Church of Boston, and marvelled at his success year after year in commemorating on its walls former members of the Church long dead but living again through his untiring exertions. His numerous historical and biographical writings will long keep his memory green."

Arts and Sciences (council, treasurer), American Antiquarian Society (council), American Historical Association, Boston Memorial Association, Bostonian Society, Bunker Hill Monument Association (vice-president), Cambridge Historical Society (vice-president), Club of Odd Volumes, Essex Institute, Maine Historical Society, Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society (treasurer), Massachusetts Historical Society, New England Historic Genealogical Society (assistant treasurer, publication committee, council, corresponding secretary), New Hampshire Historical Society, Prince Society (vice-president), Rhode Island Historical Society, Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians (treasurer), State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Trinity Historical Society of Dallas, Texas, Unitarian Historical Society (president). Added to these was a long list of charitable, civic, music, art, social, and church clubs. In many of these varied organizations he took an active part and held important offices.

He was passionately fond of music, especially the old Italian operas, and played many of them by ear with a charming touch that made his hearers regret that he never had leisure to learn to read music. He was interested in art, being a member of the Da Vinci Club, of which William Morris Hunt was president. He had an extensive collection of engravings, including some fine Bartolozzis and others connected with his collection of Americana, and he became thoroughly conversant both with engraving and with painting. He had surrounded himself with a matchless collection of ancestral portraits and silver and a large library relating to early New England.

Mr. Edes was an ardent Unitarian, serving on many committees of the Harvard Church, Charlestown, and acting for some years as Sunday school superintendent. At the time of the disruption of this society, due to changes in the class of residents in the city, it was through his instrumentality that the bust of the one-time pastor-president, James Walker, and the crystal chandelier now in the Faculty Room were given to Harvard University. He was for many years chairman of the Unitarian Festival Committee, and spared no pains in securing for the annual banquets speakers who were often of world-wide fame.

At the time of his death he had been for many years in covenanted relationship with the First Church in Boston. He was a trustee of

its property, a faithful and regular attendant at its services of worship, and, as a member of its Memorials Committee, he had virtual charge of the monuments and memorials in which it is so rich and in obtaining and erecting which he had taken a very active part. His tastes and specialized historical knowledge made his work on this committee particularly congenial to him, and his success in it was noteworthy.

Always faultlessly and rather formally attired, usually with the tall silk hat in vogue in his youth during business hours, he had been for years, up to the time of his death, a striking and familiar figure on State Street. Handsome, tall of stature, well-built, erect, with a distinguished bearing almost military, and quick of step, his every movement and gesture suggested vigor, energy, and alertness. One meeting him casually would have inferred that he had been an athlete in his youth and had always lived much in the open air. Such sports and pastimes were, however, and always had been entirely foreign to him. These diversions demanded time and opportunity which were never his. From boyhood work had consumed his days, and his nights into the small hours were ever given over to reading and study, to historical, antiquarian, and genealogical research, and to arranging and editing the results for publication. It is not a little remarkable that his earliest contribution was printed when he was barely more than nineteen years of age.

Even his short and infrequent vacations were devoted to these pursuits, and his travels, for the most part confined to his beloved New England, led him to patriotic or ancestral shrines. To him the scenes among which the Fathers had passed their lives had a deep significance, and a church wherein they had worshipped, like a village cemetery containing the grave of a progenitor, was for him a Mecca. His knowledge of our early history was so detailed and his acquaintance with its leading personages so intimate that to accompany him on one of his historical pilgrimages was to live in the past and to feel the very presence of the men and women of bygone days, so vividly did his conversation conjure them up amid their former surroundings.

Far was he, however, from morbid aloofness from things of the present world. On the contrary, his love of human nature, of people, was intense; and, just as his sympathetic interest in the affairs of

all whom he met was great, so was his response to their approbation of himself sincere and immediate.

Perhaps his happiest moments were when he dispensed the gracious hospitality for which his home in Cambridge was famous. Here, year after year, he gathered men distinguished throughout the world of learning. And what a host he was! He was a master in the art of putting his guests at their ease and of drawing out each and making him appear at his best. From the budding, obscure instructor to the acknowledged leading international authority, each and all, in turn, shared his undivided attention. He knew much of the interests, the attainments, and the capacities of each. The hospitality dispensed at his generous board to the last left naught to be desired in the way of material things, while the intellectual pabulum was ever such as to cause the guests to linger long and eagerly over the feast.

On these occasions, as in almost every gathering in which Henry Edes was found, he was the central figure around whom others gathered and to whom they looked to lead the conversation or settle the argument. So vital and full of radiating energy was his personality, that men felt instinctively when he entered the room that the meeting had begun. If he were called away, the interest usually flagged. The atmosphere had become less charged and exhilarating.

His success in securing the interest and financial support, alike of his friends and of strangers, for the various societies and public-spirited undertakings in which he was interested was unusual. In a quiet, unobtrusive way he was also often instrumental in securing recognition of worth and service that might otherwise have been overlooked in the busy world of to-day. He made these matters his personal business, and went about them with all the tact, energy, and sagacity that were his in an unusual degree. His success in obtaining what he asked for others was in no small measure due to the fact that for himself he asked nothing. To him the objects of his interest seemed always outside of himself and larger than himself. Many years ago he said to the writer: "Things don't usually just happen of themselves. If you wish events to shape themselves as they should, you must see to it that they do."

In his contact with people he had something of the qualities of the diplomat and the statesman, which, with his gracious and courtly manners, suggestive of the olden time, added to the influence of his

personality. There was, withal, a certain mixture of sweetness in his make-up which made him a good loser. Even when things did not turn out as he wished, he kept on working with good grace, his shoulder to the wheel as before. This was particularly noticeable when, in 1904, he was succeeded in the editing of our Publications by one whose ideas were, in some respects, materially different from his own. Not for a moment did he hold aloof, but continued to give in unstinted measure his deeply appreciated help and the results of his unrivalled knowledge.

His voice was strong and musical. His English, both spoken and written, was clear and forcible, and his illustrations were always in striking figures. He could wield a trenchant pen, and also possessed marked talent in the preparation of sympathetic biographical sketches of men he had known. Had he been trained for the ministry or for the legal profession, his success in either career would have been assured. His letters and notes, written in the graceful style so familiar to his friends and often in his own strong, beautiful handwriting, were habitually well turned, and he was capable of making an excellent occasional speech. His conversational powers were of a high order, and his retentive memory made it possible for him to cherish and repeat many an amusing story or delightful anecdote of the past. His cordial, hearty greeting will remain long in the memory of many. Once a friend, he was ever a loyal one.

Often did total strangers, after an interview with him, go their way rejoicing, with a desired bit of information regarding some obscure antiquarian problem which to all others had been but a riddle. Few knew the evolutions which the present map of Boston has gone through during the past three centuries better than he. To this cartographic knowledge his vocation of conveyancer as well as his avocations had contributed.

Speculation on such a subject as the following is perhaps profitless; but the writer has often found himself wondering what this man might not have accomplished with the college education which he coveted, with opportunities for travel, and with ample leisure to devote himself exclusively to historical study. Certainly his acquirements, his accomplishments, his friendships which outlive him, and the position to which he attained in this community entitle him to be ranked as a striking example of that peculiarly American type,

the self-made man. His one chance lay in hard, constant, and persistent work. And *work* he did, hard, all his long life. Truly, to the last, whatsoever his hand found to do, he did it with his might.

When he learned that the end was approaching, he stood ready to meet Death like a conqueror, regretting most the unfinished work that he must leave behind.

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A Memorial of Josiah Barker, of Charlestown, Mass. . . . Boston: Privately printed. 1871.² The Prefatory Note is dated January 18, 1871.

List of Preachers of Election Sermons. [1634-1871] *In* Fanaticism. A Sermon delivered before the Executive and Legislative Departments of the Government of Massachusetts, at the Annual Election, Wednesday, January 4, 1871. By Charles E. Grinnell, Pastor of the Harvard Church, Charlestown. Boston: . . . 1871. Appendix, pp. [31]-61. The Appendix is dated February 1, 1871.

Marriages solemnized in Pembroke, Mass., by the Rev. Thomas Smith, 1755-1787. *In* New England Historical and Genealogical Register, January, 1877, xxxi. 68-75.

The Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, in the County of Middlesex and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1629-1818. By Thomas Bellows Wyman.

¹ For this list of Mr. Edes's writings, I am indebted to Mr. Albert Matthews. It is divided into two sections: the first includes separate publications and papers and documents printed elsewhere than in the Transactions of this Society; the second includes the papers printed in our Publications. In some cases titles and dates have been supplied by the compiler.

² One hundred copies of this pamphlet were printed in a manner showing that Mr. Edes's taste in typography was early developed.

. . . Boston: . . . 1879. These two volumes were edited by Mr. Edes, the Editor's Note, dated May 6, 1879, filling pp. [v]-xiii of the first volume.

History of the Harvard Church in Charlestown 1815-1879 With Services at the Ordination of Mr. Pitt Dillingham October 4, 1876 The Proceedings of the Council and the Pastor's first sermon . . . Boston . . . 1879 The "Historical Sketches," prepared by Mr. Edes, fill pp. [53]-265, and his Editorial Note, dated December 31, 1879, pp. 266-271.

Charlestown in the Colonial Period. *In* The Memorial History of Boston, including Suffolk County, Massachusetts. 1630-1880. Edited By Justin Winsor, . . . Boston: . . . 1880, i. 383-400.

Charlestown in the Provincial Period. *In* Memorial History of Boston, 1881, ii. 311-330.

Charlestown in the last Hundred Years. *In* Memorial History of Boston, 1881, iii. 547-570.

Radeliffe Pedigree. *In* New England Historical and Genealogical Register, January, 1896, i. 30-31.

Annals of King's Chapel from the Puritan Age of New England to the present day By Henry Wilder Foote . . . Vol. II. Boston: . . . 1896 Edited by Mr. Edes, the Editor's Preface, dated Easter, 1896, filling pp. [v]-xv.

Edward Wheelwright. *In* New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. iv. pp. lxx-lxxi.

Robert Noxon Toppan. *In* Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, October, 1901, xiv. 322-326.

John Chandler Bancroft Davis. *In* Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, April, 1908, xix. 13-17.

Thomas Minns. *In* New England Historical and Genealogical Register, April, 1915, lxxix. 99-101.¹

Andrew McFarland Davis. *In* Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, April, 1920, xxx. 12-14.

Andrew McFarland Davis. *In* Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, April, 1920, liii. 141-145.

Report of the Council. *In* Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, April, 1921, xxxi. 8-13.

II

In PUBLICATIONS OF THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

Shipwreck of the Palatines. [1740] March, 1893, i. 113-114.

Conduit and Conduit Street, Boston. January, 1894, i. 199-200.

Andrew Faneuil, Peter Faneuil, and Peter Baynton. April, 1894, i. 366-372.

Star Tavern, Boston. December, 1894, i. 409 note.

The Bromley maps of Boston, March, 1895, iii. 70-71.

Leverett Saltonstall. April, 1895, iii. 81-83.

James Walker Austin. November, 1895, iii. 150-151.

¹ Besides the papers listed in the text, between 1868 and 1908 Mr. Edes contributed various notes, chiefly genealogical, to the New England Historical and Genealogical Register: see xxii. 197, 353, 463, xxiv. 426, xxv. 90, xlv. 209-210, 212-213, xlv. 338-339, lv. 445-446, lvi. 90, 408, lviii. 203, lxi. 396, 399, lxii. 383-384.

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Benjamin Apthorp Gould. December, 1896, iii. 311-312.
Pierre Boucher de la Broquerie. February, 1897, iii. 377-378.
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Joseph Morton. March, 1898, v. 283 note.
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Letter of Hezekiah Usher, August 26, 1664. December, 1898, v. 390-392.
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Daniel Davison. January, 1899, vi. 39 note.
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John Colman. February, 1899, vi. 86-89.
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Joseph de Valnais. April, 1906, x. 358.
Franklin Davenport, 1755-1832. April, 1906, x. 358-365.
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Memoir of Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr. April, 1906, x. 388-406.
Christ Church Registers, Philadelphia. November, 1906, x. 412.
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Memoir of Dr. Thomas Young, 1731-1777. December, 1906, xi. 2-54.
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Letters of Robert Morris, 1798. March, 1907, xi. 277-279.
Letter of Francis Dana, December 6, 1789. November, 1907, xi. 344-347.
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Tablet in memory of Simon Willard (1604-1676). March, 1908, xii. 133-134.
James Taylor's Indenture of Apprenticeship, 1664. April, 1908, xii. 174-181.
Agreement made by the Town and Church of Concord and Harvard College, August 22, 1653. January, 1909, xii. 232-235.
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Poem on the Death of Lucy Calhoon, 1806. April, 1910, xiii. 140-144.

Andrew Eliot (1719-1778). January, 1911, xiii. 234-241.

George Washington and the Delaware Chiefs, 1779. February, 1911, xiii. 259-265.

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Satirical Coat of Arms of the Porcellian Club. January, 1917, xix. 156-158.

Two documents relating to the Middlesex Registry of Deeds, April 26, 30, 1770. December, 1919, xxi. 452-453.

Simon Bradstreet (H. C. 1693). February, 1920, xxiv. 24.

Letter of James Bryce, March 25, 1920. April, 1920, xxiv. 61.

Letter of James Bryce, November 9, 1920. November, 1920, xxiv. 118.¹

¹ Several of Mr. Edes's papers were issued in reprints, but it has not been thought necessary to specify these. Other references to Mr. Edes's activities will be found in the indexes to the several volumes.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1924

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 28 February, 1924, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Mr. FREDERIC WINTHROP, Mr. BENJAMIN LORING YOUNG, Mr. EDWARD MOTLEY PICKMAN, and Mr. EDWARD WALDO FORBES, accepting Resident Membership; and from Mr. WILLIAM OTIS SAWTELLE and Mr. WILLIAM KEENEY BIXBY, accepting Corresponding Membership.

The PRESIDENT announced the resignation of Mr. HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM as Recording Secretary, and stated that the Council, acting under Chapter IV, Article 2, of the By-Laws, had elected Mr. ARTHUR STANWOOD PIER to fill the vacancy. He then read the following minute, which was adopted by the Council at its meeting on the 6th instant:

The Council wishes to record its deep regret at the resignation of HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM as Recording Secretary. A charter member of the Society, Mr. Cunningham was elected in 1892 to the office from which he now retires. The value of his service throughout this long term is gratefully recognized by the Council in common with the whole Society. But his fellow-councillors would particularly express their appreciation of the part he has taken in the more intimate deliberations of this executive board. All his associates here are now

his juniors in length of service and have received his pleasant welcome as they entered the Council. They have found him wise in advice and generous in every kind of coöperation, and their labors have been lightened by his unflinching good spirits.

Mr. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE offered the following minute, which was unanimously adopted by a rising vote:

The members of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts learn with deep regret of the retirement of their associate HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM from the office of Recording Secretary, the duties of which he has so competently performed ever since the Society was founded in 1892. During his term of service Mr. Cunningham has seen the Society grow from a mere project — wisely conceived, to be sure, but, like all such projects, of uncertain forecast — to its present condition of established dignity and secure prosperity. As he was active in organizing the Society at the very outset, so he has taken a leading part in its development, which has signally approved the judgment of the founders. He has furthered its interests in every way, has attended its meetings with fidelity, has contributed valuable material to its Publications, has extended the circle of its influence, and has made available for its purposes, with unflagging and enthusiastic generosity, his wide and exact information as to New England pedigrees and the early history of the Commonwealth. The charm of his manner and his friendliness of disposition have done much to form that spirit of good fellowship which is so marked a feature of the organization. Though Mr. Cunningham feels compelled to lay aside the immediate duties of his office, the members are assured that there will be no interruption in his devoted service, and they look forward with confidence to a long period of fruitful activity on his part.

The EDITOR made the following remarks:

Five or six years ago Mr. Horace E. Ware prepared two notes on the periodical cicada,¹ especially Brood XIV, which had last appeared in Plymouth and Barnstable Counties in 1906 and was expected next to appear in 1923. These expectations were not disappointed, as is shown in the following note written by Mr. Charles W. Johnson late in 1923:

¹ Our Publications, xx. 104-108, 280-285.

THE PERIODICAL CICADA

This Cicada, commonly called the "Seventeen-year Locust," is not, as most people know, a locust, for the true locust is a grasshopper. It appeared in great numbers this year. This brood is known as "Brood XIV," and in New England is confined to southeastern Massachusetts. The most northern localities where it was observed were near Cook's Pond, about two miles southwest of Plymouth, and on the hill near Manomet; from there they extended south to Falmouth and east to Hyannisport. The latter place has always been considered the most eastern limit of the brood. This year, however, it has been reported by a party at Great Pond, east of Wellfleet, and Mr. J. D. Smith found it in the woods at the Wellfleet and Truro line.

They first appeared early in June and continued, in some places, until the last week in July. The loud noise produced by the males has attracted the attention of many an automobilist, whose first thought was that something was the matter with his engine. The females lay their eggs in the twigs of the oaks, causing them to die, and giving the area an appearance of having been burned. It was nearly six weeks before the eggs hatched and the young nymphs entered the ground, to spend the next sixteen years sucking the juices from the roots of trees. They are due to appear again in 1940.¹

In spite of the interest taken in Elihu Yale (1649-1721) both as a native of Boston and as the founder of the second oldest college in New England, it is surprising how much confusion there still is in regard to his immediate ancestors. In his "Life of Theophilus Eaton," Cotton Mather said that his second wife was "a Prudent and Pious Widow, the Daughter of the Bishop of *Chester*; unto the Three former *Children* of which Widow, he became a most Exemplary, Living and Faithful *Father*, as well as a most Worthy *Husband* unto herself."² It will be observed that the precise Bishop of *Chester* is not specified. In 1838 he was identified as Thomas Morton.³ Now Thomas Morton (1564-1659), successively Bishop

¹ Bulletin of the Boston Society of Natural History, No. 31, December, 1922, p. 4.

² *Magnalia* (1702), bk. ii. ch. ix. § 5, p. 27.

³ James L. Kingsley, *Historical Discourse*, delivered by request before the Citizens of New Haven, April 25, 1838, Note A, p. 75. The blunder about Morton is also found in E. Yale, *The Yale Family* (New Haven, 1850), p. 18, cf. pp. 23-26, 29-32; *American Journal of Education*, December, 1850, v. 715-721; *Savage, Genealogical Dictionary* (1860), ii. 97; in 1888 in the notice of

of Chester, of Lichfield, and of Durham, died unmarried, "having early in life 'resolved to die a single man.'" ¹ In 1878 the late Dr. Franklin B. Dexter showed that the second Mrs. Eaton was the daughter of George Lloyd (1560-1615), Morton's predecessor as Bishop of Chester.²

But in correcting one error, Dr. Dexter himself fell into another in asserting, as all writers have done down to 1899, that Ann Lloyd's first husband was David Yale. In that year it was proved ³ that she was the widow of Thomas Yale, who died in or about 1619.⁴

Finally, a third error is sometimes found. Ann Lloyd, by her first husband Thomas Yale, had three children: David Yale (1613-1690); Ann Yale (1615-1698), who married Edward Hopkins; and Thomas Yale (1616-1683). The third error ⁵ consists in stating that Elihu Yale (1649-1721) was the son of Thomas Yale (1616-1683), whereas he was the son of David Yale (1613-1690).

A genealogical table will make the relationships clear. The David Yale who died in 1730 has been included because he received the hon-

Theophilus Eaton in the Dictionary of National Biography; and in 1904 by a former associate of ours in our Publications, viii. 341 note 2. When the last mentioned volume was published, Dr. Dexter called my attention to the error.

¹ See the notice of Morton in the Dictionary of National Biography.

² Historical Papers (1918), p. 84.

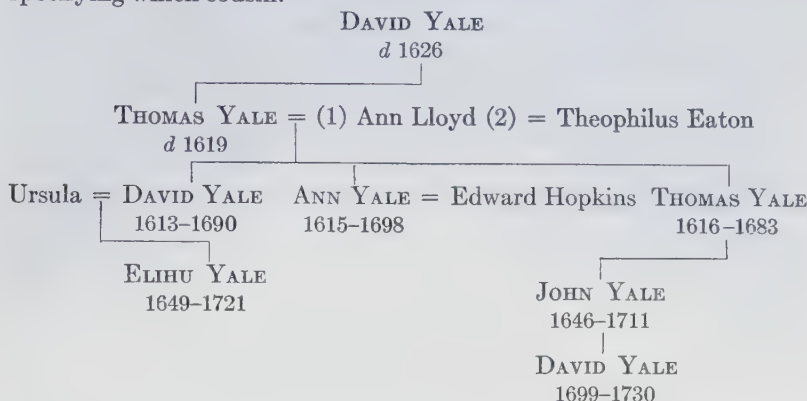
³ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, January, 1899, liii. 82-83. See also Rodney H. Yale, Yale Genealogy and History of Wales (Beatrice, Nebraska, 1908), pp. 86-122.

The Thomas Yale who died in or about 1619 was a son of David Yale, in whose will (dated August 15, 1625, proved June 16, 1626) is a bequest "to David Yale, Thomas Yale and Anne Yale, children of Thomas Yale, my eldest sonne late deceased, twentie pounds a yeare."

⁴ An inventory of his estate is dated August 27, 1619.

⁵ This error is found in T. Clap, *Annals or History of Yale College* (1766), p. 29; J. Savage, *Winthrop's History of New England* (1826, 1853), ii. 217 note; J. L. Kingsley, *Sketch of the History of Yale College* (1835), p. 18; E. Yale, *Yale Family* (1850). In 1862 Savage (*Genealogical Dictionary*, iv. 666-667) mentioned both theories, but inclined to the correct one. The same work contains a puzzling statement. Savage asserts that "Dr. Stiles positively says" that Elihu Yale was the son of Thomas Yale, but gives no reference for the assertion. So far as I can ascertain, Dr. Stiles nowhere mentions Elihu Yale's father. The explanation of the puzzle appears to be as follows. In 1826 (as noted above) Savage had made the same statement, quoting an extract from Abiel Holmes's *Life of Ezra Stiles* (1798), p. 386. The extract is found in a footnote on that page, in "A Sketch of the History of Yale College" which fills pp. 383-402 of the Appendix, doubtless written by Holmes. The passage quoted by Savage is by Holmes placed within quotation marks. Hence, presumably,

orary degree of A.M. from Yale College in 1724¹ and is spoken of by Dr. Dexter merely as "the son of a cousin of Governor Yale,"² without specifying which cousin.



Since I am pointing out errors made by others, I wish to correct two made by myself. In the index to the Plymouth Church Records,³ I attempted to identify every clergyman mentioned, however casually. The task was a difficult and laborious one, for many of our town histories are very unsatisfactory. The ordination of the Rev. Thomas Clap at Taunton is recorded in the text under date of February 26, 1729.⁴ In the index he is identified as the Thomas Clap who graduated at Harvard College in 1722, later became President of Yale College, and died in 1767. As a matter of fact, the Taunton pastor was the Thomas Clap who graduated at Harvard in 1725 and died in 1774.⁵

Savage concluded that it was quoted by Holmes from Stiles. As a matter of fact, the extract printed by Holmes is taken, with omissions and slight changes, from Clap's *Annals*, pp. 29-30. Savage, therefore, should have said not "Dr. Stiles" but "President Clap."

¹ Cf. our *Publications*, xviii. 207-209.

² *Yale Biographies and Annals*, i. 290-291.

³ Our *Publications*, xxii-xxiii.

⁴ xxii. 240. The sermon on the occasion by the Rev. Nathaniel Eells was printed in 1729 as "A Sermon Preach'd at Taunton, Feb. 21. 1728, 9. At the Ordination of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Clap." That February 26, the date given in the Plymouth Church Records, is the right date is proved by a notice of the ordination which was printed in the *New England Weekly Journal* of March 17, 1729, p. 2/1. This begins, "*Taunton, Febr. 27. Yesterday the Reverend Mr. Thomas Clap was Ordained Pastor of this Church.*"

⁵ S. H. Emery, *Ministry of Taunton*, i. 294.

In the list of deacons of the Plymouth Church,¹ the date of death of the Thomas Clark who became a deacon in 1694 is given as 1697. A Thomas Clark did die in 1697,² but he was not the deacon, who lived until 1727. The error was discovered too late to be corrected in the list of deacons, but the dates are correctly given in the index.

MR. ALBERT MATTHEWS communicated the following—

NOTE ON "PLACING" AT HARVARD COLLEGE

That extraordinary system of "placing," which obtained both at Harvard and at Yale down nearly to the outbreak of the Revolution, presents a fascinating study, since it arouses curiosity, amazement, and puzzlement. Numerous comments on it have been made, mostly futile because based on inadequate knowledge of the facts. As to the facts, many can be disclosed by laborious digging in the College archives, but for the period before 1725 they are probably for the most part irrecoverable, owing to the meagreness of the early College records. Some time I hope to give at length the results of my own researches, but to-day I wish merely to call attention to what is perhaps the most difficult of the many problems that arise in connection with the system.

Students were called by their surnames only, except in rare instances, and when there were at College two or more students of the same surname it is sometimes extraordinarily difficult to identify them with certainty. In such cases a student was referred to in various ways, as: "Smith Senior" (or "Sr."), "Smith Junior" (or "Jr." or "Secundus" or "2^d"), "Smith Tertius" (or "3^d"), "Smith Quartus" (or "4th"), "Smith Quintus" (or "5th"), etc. At this point, a word of caution should be uttered. Some years ago I was asked if I could identify a certain student referred to, so my correspondent said, as "Senior Smith," there being two or three students of that name at the time (about 1775). As in my many examinations of the College records I had never encountered such a designation as "Senior Smith," I felt confident that some mistake had been made. This proved to be the case, for on looking up the passage I found

¹ Vol. xxii. p. lii.

² B. Kingman, *Epitaphs from Burial Hill*, p. 4.

that the youth was called not "Senior Smith" but "Sr Smith." At once I pointed out to my correspondent that "Sr" following a name meant one thing, but preceding a name meant something very different. In the former case, "Sr" was an abbreviation of "Senior;" but in the latter case, "Sr" was an abbreviation of "Sir" — that is, the title applied to a graduate who had taken his first degree of A.B. but had not yet taken his second degree of A.M., which was usually obtained three years after the first degree, and after taking which the graduate was called "Mr." With this difficulty as to "Sr" cleared up, we can return to the special problem to which I wish to call attention.¹

Given two students named Smith, what was the particular significance of "Sr." and "Jr."? Did the designations refer to age, or to the place in the class assigned to each? It was possible for three different cases to arise, in the first two of which the exact significance of "Sr." and "Jr." can easily be determined.

First, if the two Smiths were in different classes, Smith Sr. was the upper classman and Smith Jr. was the lower classman, regardless of the age of the two Smiths.

Secondly, if the two Smiths were in the same class and were brothers, then the older was placed higher and the younger was placed lower; and hence necessarily Smith Sr. was the one placed higher or the older, while Smith Jr. was the one placed lower or the younger.

Thirdly, what was the significance of Sr. and Jr. in those cases where the two Smiths were in the same class but were not brothers, and where the younger of the two was placed higher? There are two possible answers: on the one hand, Sr. might mean the student placed the higher of the two, regardless of their respective ages; on

¹ Another possible misunderstanding may be pointed out. "Why," it is reasonable to ask, "may not the 'Senior' in 'Smith Senior' (or 'Smith Sr') refer not to the individual Smith but to the class of which he was a member?" The reply is that during the period when the system of placing was in vogue, a member of the Senior class or of the Junior class was almost invariably called "Senior Sophister" or "Junior Sophister," respectively. As it happens, two cases in point occur in the extracts here quoted. In one, dated April 30, 1730, there is reference to "Fogg Sen^r Sophister," meaning Jeremiah Fogg of the class of 1730. In the other, dated June 5, 1731, "Sam^l Gardner Jun^r Sophister" is mentioned, meaning Samuel Gardner of the class of 1732. (See pp. 426, 427, below.)

the other hand, Sr. might mean the oldest, regardless of their respective places in the class. Dr. Dexter informed me that in such a case at Yale, Sr. certainly applied to the student who was placed the higher of the two. I felt confident that the Yale practice could not have differed from the Harvard practice, yet others did not agree with me, and so I made an examination of the College records to see whether proof positive could not be obtained in favor of one or the other of these opposing views. And at last, after a wearisome search, the problem was solved.

In the class of 1725 were three students named Rogers — Daniel, Daniel, and Samuel. The following gives the places assigned to each (according to the Quinquennial Catalogue, as the Faculty Records do not go back so far), the dates of birth,¹ and the relationship between the three:

4	Daniel Rogers (<i>d</i> 1785)	July 28, 1707	brother of Samuel
5	Daniel Rogers (<i>d</i> 1782)	Oct. 17, 1706	first cousin of Daniel (<i>d</i> 1785) and of Samuel
6	Samuel Rogers	Aug. 31, 1709	brother of Daniel (<i>d</i> 1785)

All three Rogerses are frequently mentioned in the various records, but, while they were undergraduates, in such a way as to throw no light on the Sr. and Jr. problem. After taking their first degree, two at least remained until 1728 as resident Bachelors; and, after those two had taken their second degree, they both remained until 1731 as resident Masters; and one of them — Daniel (*d* 1785) — remained until 1741 as Tutor. The two who remained until 1731 are invariably called "Sr." and "Jr." Of course, the third may also have remained after 1725; but if he did, he is not mentioned in any of the records, so far as I have noted.

As a matter of fact, two distinct points are here involved: (*a*) Which of the two Rogerses remained after 1725? — Daniel (*d* 1785) and Daniel (*d* 1782)? or Daniel (*d* 1785) and Samuel? or Daniel (*d* 1782) and Samuel? And (*b*) if the two who remained were Daniel (*d* 1785) and Daniel (*d* 1782), which of them was Sr. and which Jr.? It will be noted that of the two Daniels, the one placed higher was younger than the one placed lower.

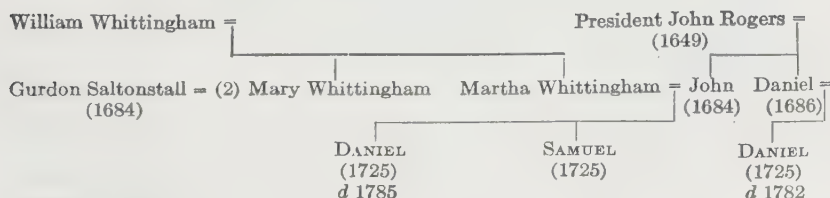
A few extracts may now be given. On March 8, 1727, "Sr Rogers

¹ Ipswich Vital Records, i. 315, 317.

S^r Rogers Jun^r" and others were chosen Hopkins scholars.¹ On April 3, 1727, the Hopkins Trustees voted "That S^r Rogers, S^r Rogers Jun^r" and others be recommended.² On September 9, 1728, and again on September 8, 1729, "M^r Rogers Jun^r" was chosen Scholar of the House.³ On October 28, 1729, and again on April 21, 1731, "m^r Daniel Rogers Sen^r" received exhibitions.⁴ On January 27, 1728, President Wadsworth punished "S^r Rogers Jun^r two shillings for omitting his Analysis y^e evening before."⁵ On July 21, 1729, President Wadsworth gave a note to the Steward to pay £4 to "m^r Rogers Jun^r" as Scholar of the House.⁶ On November 6, 1729, "M^r Daniel Rogers Sen^r" had a note to the Steward for £9 as an exhibition; and on June 16, 1731, "The Steward had a note to pay . . . £15. to m^r Dan^l Rogers Sen^r" as an exhibition.⁷

So far, all that these extracts prove is that Sir or Mr. Rogers Sr. was certainly one of the two Daniels. But the fact that Sir or Mr. Rogers Sr. is sometimes called Sir or Mr. Daniel Rogers Sr., points strongly to the conclusion that Sir or Mr. Rogers Jr. was the other Daniel and not Samuel. And that this was the case was at last proved when this entry was found under date of June 24, 1728: "Common places were made . . . in y^e morning by S^r Rogers (Daniel) Jun^r & S^r Clap; there were two at once, because y^e time was short before Commencement."⁸ And so point (a) is cleared up and we find that Daniel (*d* 1785) and Daniel (*d* 1782) were the two Rogerses in residence from 1725 to 1731.

But the solution of (a) throws no light on (b). Yet this too can be solved with certainty, though to make the point clear a genealogical table will be necessary. (Harvard classes are indicated by figures within parentheses.)



¹ College Book, iv. 120.

² Hopkins Book, p. 4.

³ College Book, iv. 132, 138.

⁴ iv. 141, 151.

⁵ Wadsworth's Diary, p. 58.

⁶ Id. p. 70.

⁷ Id. pp. 71, 80.

⁸ Id. p. 62.

It will be observed that Mary Whittingham — who was a sister of Martha Whittingham, the wife of the Rev. John Rogers (1684) of Ipswich, and hence an aunt of Daniel Rogers (*d* 1785) and of Samuel Rogers — married for her second husband Governor Gurdon Saltonstall of Connecticut. Now in 1723 Madam Mary Saltonstall gave to the College £100, the income of which was to be used for exhibitions.¹ On April 20, 1724, the Corporation voted "That £6 the Income of Mad^m Saltonstal's Donation be pay'd this year to her two Nephews the Sons of the Rev^d M^r John Rogers of Ipswich;"² and on September 9, 1724, "the Two Rogers's Sons of the Rev^d M^r John Rogers of Jpswich" were allowed £3 each from the same fund.³ These two Rogerses were of course Daniel (*d* 1785) and Samuel. Samuel did not again receive the fund after 1724, and Daniel (*d* 1785) not again until 1729. On October 29, 1729, Madam Mary Saltonstall wrote to President Wadsworth as follows:

When J made y^e Small Donation to y^e College, J signified to y^e Revnd President Leverett, yt it was my desire, if any of my Relations by Bloud was at any time at College & needed y^e Benefit, they should be prefer'd; having then an eye to y^e children of y^e Revnd M^r John Rogers of Jpswich my Brother in Law. Agreeably they had it for some time, and J thought still, in which it seems J was mistaken. . . . Jf any part may be retrieved, J shall esteem myself greatly obliged. or if M^r Daniel Rogers Son to y^e above Gentleman resides still at College, he may have it for future.⁴

¹ College Book, iv. 84. This gift was announced to the Corporation on April 1, 1723.

² iv. 95. On the same day there was voted to "Rogers £3. Rogers 2^{nds} £8. Rogers 3^{tius} £3. . . . out of the College revenue at Large" (iv. 95). These were, in the order named, Daniel (*d* 1785), Daniel (*d* 1782), and Samuel.

³ iv. 99.

⁴ iv. 342. Madam Saltonstall's letter, as copied by President Wadsworth, is signed "M. Saltonstall." There is in the Harvard College Papers (i. 150) a letter dated April 22, 1725, and addressed "To Rever^d M^{rsers} Wadsworth & Coleman," the signature to which is somewhat obscure, as well as a few of the words. In his Calendar to those papers, the late William G. Brown wrote: "N. Saltonstall to President Wadsworth & Reverend Mr. Colman. Clause of Governor Saltonstall's Will bequeathing £100 to Harvard. . . . The writer of the above letter was probably Nathaniel Saltonstall, H. U. 1695." In my opinion, the letter is signed not "N. Saltonstall," but "M Saltonstall"—i. e. Madam Mary Saltonstall, whose husband had died the previous autumn (September 20, 1724). On March 17, 1725, "A Letter from the Hon^{ble} Maddam Saltonstal of New London dated March 3^d 1724/5 being Layd before the Cor-

Now whether by chance, or because it was intimated that such a letter was coming, the Corporation had already voted on October 28, 1729, that £9 should be allowed "to m^r Daniel Rogers Sen^r, out of y^e Income of the Hon^{ble} Madam Saltonstal's Donation;"¹ on April 21, 1731, "m^r Daniel Rogers Senior" received £15 from the donation;² and on April 11, 1732, "m^r Daniel Rogers" received £6 from the same fund.³

And now at last our Sr. and Jr. problem is solved. For Rogers Sr. was certainly Daniel (*d* 1785), and Rogers Jr. was certainly Daniel (*d* 1782), and Daniel (*d* 1785) was placed higher than Daniel (*d* 1782), though Daniel (*d* 1785) was nine months younger than Daniel (*d* 1782). Hence Sr. was the student placed higher, regardless of age.

One more case may be considered, it being a very curious one. There were two Gardners in the class of 1732 — Samuel and Joseph. When that class was placed we find the following order, with the names, ages, and places of residence at entrance of the two Gardners:⁴

poration informing them of a Donation of one hundred pounds to Harv^d College by the Late Honor^{ble} Gov^r Saltonstal her Husband Voted — That M^r Wadsworth & M^r Coleman be desired to write a Letter of Thanks to Maddam Saltonstal entreating her to send a Copy of the clause in the Gov's Will referring to said Donation" (College Book, iv. 101). The letter of April 22, 1725, is in part as follows:

"The Post y^t brought y^r letter has been sick, w^{ch} acot's such a delay, y^t I Rec^d it but last night; have acording to y^r desire Inspected y^e Clause of y^e will: w^{ch} is only this It: I give to harvard Colledge one hundred pounds in bills of Credit; or money as it Passes wⁿ p^d & y^t it be p^d in a year after my decease: . . .

"I am asham'd my Poor scribles sho^d apear before Y^e gentlemen of y^e Corporation. . . ."

There cannot be the least doubt that the letter was written in reply to the one which Wadsworth and Colman had been requested to send Madam Saltonstall on March 17, and consequently that the writer was Madam Saltonstall herself. It is to be remembered that from the death of John Leverett on May 3, 1724, to the inauguration of Benjamin Wadsworth on July 7, 1725, the College was without a President.

¹ iv. 141.

² iv. 151.

³ iv. 155.

⁴ Faculty Records, i. 20. The exact date of placing is not given, but the names are recorded between meetings of September 30 and November 26, 1728.

11	Samuel Gardner	16	Salem
12	John Ellery		
13	James Morris		
14	Joseph Gardner	14	Boston
15	Thomas Tufts		
16	Matthew Withington		
[16	<i>Samuel Gardner</i> (after degradation)] ¹		
17	Joseph Herrick		

It will be noted that Samuel Gardner was not only placed higher than Joseph Gardner, but was two years older than Joseph. Hence, on any principle, Gardner Sr. must have been Samuel Gardner, and Gardner Jr. must have been Joseph Gardner. On April 15, 1729, an exhibition of £6 was "allowed to Gardner for this year, he being a Salem scholar."² This must have been Samuel. On April 6, 1730, an exhibition of £12 was to be divided between "Fogg Sen^r Sophister, & Gardner of Salem."³ This again was Samuel. On April 21, 1731, it was voted that "as to any allowance to Gardner Jun^r of Salem, it be left to further consideration."⁴ Once more this was Samuel. On June 18, 1731, it was "Voted, yt Sam^l Gardner, a Salem Scholar, be allow'd six pounds . . . see p. 151."⁵ All these references are unquestionably to Samuel. But why was he on April 21, 1731, called "Gardner Jun^r"? The Corporation Records throw no light on this matter. Possibly "Jun^r" might only have been a clerical error for Sr., for I have found several such errors. The Faculty Records clear the matter up. On November 27, 1728, it was agreed —

That Oliver & Gardner Sen^r, for being concern'd in stealing the Goose lately taken on y^e Coñon; and also for stealing a Turkey, be degraded, viz. Oliver below Steel, & Gardner be degraded below five, & have his place between Withington & Herrick.⁶

That "Gardner Sen^r" must have been Samuel is easily capable of proof. First, the list on this page shows that Samuel from being

¹ This line has of course been inserted by me.

² College Book, iv. 136.

³ iv. 143.

⁴ iv. 151. There is in the margin a reference to "p. 152" — that is, College Book, iv. 152.

⁵ iv. 152. The reference is to iv. 151.

⁶ Faculty Records, i. 22. The Oliver in question was Peter Oliver (H. C. 1730), afterwards the famous Chief Justice of Massachusetts.

eleventh must have become sixteenth. Secondly, we read in the Faculty Records: "Sam^l Gardner Jun^r Sophister's Confession & petition of May. 7. 1731. was read June. 5. 1731. And the President and Tutors agre'd, yt he should be restored to y^e place in his Class from whence he had been degraded."¹ But the extraordinary thing is this. When Samuel Gardner was degraded five places he was brought three places *below* Joseph Gardner. Consequently, before November 27, 1728, and after June 5, 1731, Gardner Sr. was Samuel Gardner and Gardner Jr. was Joseph Gardner; but between November 27, 1728, and June 5, 1731, Gardner Sr. was Joseph Gardner and Gardner Jr. was Samuel Gardner. And that is why Samuel Gardner was on April 21, 1731, called Gardner Jr. But the result again confirms the case of the Rogerses, for Samuel Gardner was at first called Sr. not because he was older than Joseph Gardner but because he was placed higher than Joseph; and when, owing to Samuel's degradation, their places were reversed, their designations of Sr. and Jr. also were reversed.

Verily, that system of placing was fearfully and wonderfully made!

Mr. ALFRED JOHNSON gave a talk on "Some Recent Impressions of the Forts and other Evidences of Early Occupancy at Pemaquid, and elsewhere, in Maine," illustrated by lantern slides from photographs taken by himself. By way of introduction, the speaker showed slides of maps, both ancient and modern, of the Gulf of Maine, pointed out the various landfalls made by the early voyagers, and indicated why the isolated, bold Island of Monhegan was sought by such navigators as George Waymouth, John Smith, and their successors. He then traced the beginnings of early colonization along the coast, in the vicinity of Monhegan, at Pemaquid, and at the mouth of the Kennebec, and its spread up the valleys of the larger rivers. The various remains of forts and other evidences of early occupancy which still exist on these spots and their present aspects were shown.

¹ Faculty Records, i. 36.

In the interior of the State, the following forts, which at one time marked the frontier between the English and the French and Indians, were shown and described: Fort Western, Fort Halifax, and Fort St. George.

Mr. Johnson stated that in accordance with a recent act of Congress, several old forts and military reservations, located in different parts of the State of Maine, which, with the development of modern methods of warfare, have lost their value for military purposes, but retain a value and interest for historic reasons, have been purchased by the State from the national Government. These purchases were made by order of the Governor and Council and paid for by the State contingent fund, the deeds for the property being signed by the Secretary of War, John W. Weeks. It is expected that these military reservations taken over by the State, each of which has a particular local interest and has long figured as a landmark in its respective locality, will be converted into State parks; and that towns, in some cases societies, will assume responsibility for them, making provision for their permanent care and for their use along historical lines. The following forts have already been purchased by the State: Fort Baldwin, Fort Edgecomb, Fort Knox, Fort Machias, Fort McClary, Fort Popham, Fort St. George, and Sugar Loaf Islands. Governor Baxter has turned the whole matter over to the Rev. Henry E. Dunnack, Maine State Librarian, who is preparing brief articles dealing with each fort.¹

¹ Under the heading "Special Bill to Buy Land. Gov. Baxter explains Proposal to obtain Fort McClary, at Kittery," the following appeared in the Portland Press Herald of March 4, 1924:

"In explanation of a news report that a bill has been introduced in Congress to deed to the State of Maine certain land at Fort McClary, in Kittery, Governor Baxter today made the following statement:

"In 1808 when Maine was a part of Massachusetts the Massachusetts Assembly ceded to the U. S. Government 1.87 acres of land in Kittery for "fortifica-

The speaker reviewed the history of Pemaquid, its forts and other ruins, by means of pictures of the harbor, river, forts, and pavements; and spoke of the various field-days the Maine Historical Society had held there, beginning with that of August 7, 1869, when people came in ox-carts — some carrying on their carts as many as fifty persons¹ — down to the latest, on September 18, 1923, at which the automobile, the motor boat, and the airplane were conspicuous.

Referring to Pemaquid, Mr. Johnson quoted Samuel A. Drake's statement that "no place on the whole coast

tion purposes." The Federal Government also bought from private owners a larger tract adjoining this small piece, and constructed fortifications thereon.

"These fortifications have been abandoned for many years by the U. S. Government and under a recent Act of Congress the State of Maine has purchased the site for public park purposes. The small piece of land, of 1.87 acres, however, as it had been ceded for a special purpose, could not be sold by the U. S. Government and it becomes necessary to have a special act drawn and introduced in Congress ceding this back to the State.

"In order to clear up the title, Governor Baxter drafted an act of Congress and forwarded it to Senator Hale, who has consented to introduce it and follow it through the channels of Congress so that the State will hereafter own the entire Fort McClary project.

"This will clear up all titles and give the State of Maine the entire area, to be developed from time to time as funds are available."

"The State was already in possession of Fort Kent, and Fort William Henry at Pemaquid. The restored castle of the latter fort contains a State Museum, with many objects of local historic interest, the greater part of which have been found in the surrounding ruins of the four forts which have existed on this spot.

"Fort Western has been purchased and restored by Hon. William H. Gannett, and his son, Guy Gannett, Esq., and presented by them to the City of Augusta. The remaining Block House of Fort Halifax is at present the property of the Maine Central Railroad."

¹ The following is taken from the Brunswick Telegraph of September 3, 1869:

"The people were gathering from all quarters to witness the ceremonies appointed for the day, — and they came on foot, in carriages, in boats, yachts, vessels of various sizes, in fact in whatsoever could be made available for the occasion.

"Long Cove' or School District no. 17, came in an Ox team drawn by five yokes of Oxen. The wagon was fitted for, and bore 65 passengers. It was provided with a cotton awning, cotton being strung around its sides, and was literally entwined with flowers.

"A second wagon, with a booth of green boughs, and drawn by two yokes of oxen, also transported a large company to the spot."

has afforded such a plentiful crop of historical nettles;"¹ but he expressed the hope that the riddle as to who the earliest occupants were, and the mystery of the paved streets and cellars of Pemaquid, might eventually be solved by the discovery of some documentary evidence, relative to its history, in the archives of Europe. Summing up the results of the recent researches, it was stated that while they gave no conclusive evidence of Norse or Spanish occupancy, they did confirm the statements made by Williamson and later historians, and by Waterman Hatch and others who had resided at Pemaquid a century ago, and from whom sworn depositions have come down to us relative to the cellars, paved streets, and forts. It would further appear from the findings that a very considerable settlement flourished at Pemaquid very early in the seventeenth century.²

¹ Pine-Tree Coast (1891), p. 227.

² Mr. Johnson was one of a committee, of which the Rev. Henry E. Dunnack (State Librarian) and Mr. William D. Patterson (State Commissioner) were the other two, to raise funds for carrying on excavations at Pemaquid during the summer of 1923.

Mr. Johnson expressed himself as not unmindful of the great amount of research already done by members of the Maine Historical Society, and the valuable results to be found in its Publications and in those of the State.

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